

Socialist party (U.S.) Emergency
— St. Louis, 1917

PROCEEDINGS

130

EMERGENCY CONVENTION

OF THE

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA

AT ST. LOUIS, 1917



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1917a

MINUTES FIRST DAY SESSION.

April 7, 1917.

Morning Session.

Convention called to order by National Executive Secretary, Adolph Germer, who read the official call for the assembling of the Convention.

Comrade Morris Hillquit, of New York, elected Temporary Chairman.

Opening address by Comrade Hillquit.

Election of Temporary Secretary. Following nominated:

A. Wagenknecht, of Ohio.

Julius Gerber, of New York.

John C. Kennedy, of Illinois.

Geo. E. Roewer, Jr., of Massachusetts.

Comrades Gerber and Kennedy declined. Vote taken on those remaining, resulted in 50 votes for Wagenknecht and 102 for Roewer the latter was declared elected Temporary Secretary.

Wagenknecht was unanimously elected temporary assistant secretary.

Motion that the Chairman appoint a Credentials Committee consisting of five members; amended by J. T. Cumbie, of Oklahoma, that we proceed to election of said committee.

Substitute motion by G. H. Goebel, of New Jersey, that the National Secretary read the list of accredited delegates where no contest exists, and that the organization of the convention be based upon same, but if any contest exists that such matter be referred to a committee of five to be appointed by the chairman for hearing cases.

The previous question was then called for and carried.

Vote was then taken on substitute motion, which was carried.

National Secretary then read list of accredited delegates as follows:

ALABAMA: Emma Connolly.

ARIZONA: J. R. Barnette, Cory Davenport,

ARKANSAS: Clay Fulks, Dan Hogan.

CALIFORNIA: Job Harriman, Cameron H. King, Harry McKee, W. T. Mills, Thos. W. Williams.

COLORADO: W. P. Collins, Jennie McGehe.

CONNECTICUT: Martin F. Plunkett, P. H. Shea, Geo. Spiess, Jr.

DELAWARE: L. P. McGuigan.

FLORIDA: Franklin Pimbley, Geo. White.

GEORGIA: Mary Raoul Millis.

IDAHO: Elda B. Conly, C. F. Fields, I. F. Stewart.

ILLINOIS: John Berg, Bernard Berlyn, Paul Castle, Clarence Diehl, Adolph Dreifuss, Samuel Holland, Robt. H. Howe, John C. Kennedy, S. A. Knopf-nagel, Victor Lundquist, Duncan McDonald, Edgar Owens, Karl F. Sandberg.

INDIANA: Wm. W. Farner, Wm. H. Henry, Wm. F. Jackman, Florence Wattles, Joe Zimmerman.

IOWA: -C. T. Bowman, I. S. McCrillis, Harold Metcalf.

KANSAS: Ida A. Belooof, Phil Callery, G. W. Kleihege, Milo Mitchell.

KENTUCKY: Walter Millard.

LOUISIANA: J. R. Jones.

MAINE: Desire Baker, H. Jacob P. Enemark.

MARYLAND: Maynard Shipley, S. L. V. Young.
MASSACHUSETTS: Victor Annala, Abraham Bloom, Charles E. Fenner, Eugene Hough, George Makela, Louis Marcus, James Oneal, George E. Roewer, Jr., Max A. Schulze, F. J. Syryala.
MICHIGAN: D. E. Farley, E. O. Foss, H. A. Hedden, John Keracher, John Kilskila, Al. Renner, M. Sugar, Robt. Westfall.
MINNESOTA: F. W. Adams, B. J. Locher, Anna A. Maley, Chas. Rastedt, Geo. Sahlman, W. A. Stafford, L. Vanderberg, W. O. Wassing.
MISSOURI: W. M. Brandt, G. C. Grant, Kate R. O'Hare.
MONTANA: McElroy, A. F. Miessner.
NEBRASKA: G. C. Porter.
NEW HAMPSHIRE: P. J. Leonard.
NEW JERSEY: Valentine Bausch, Geo. H. Goebel, Henry Green, Milo C. Jones, Frederick Krafft, Patrick L. Quinlan, James M. Reilly.
NEW MEXICO: Walter B. Dillon, S. Parks.
NEW YORK: Allen L. Benson, Alex. W. Berggren, F. G. Biedenkapp, L. B. Boudin, Joseph D. Cannon, Jullus Gerber, Morris Hillquit, Wm. Hilsdorf, Algernon Lee, Ludwig Lore, Max Lulow, S. J. Mahoney, Chas. W. Noonan, Moses Oppenheimer, Albert Pauly, John C. Rowitch, Fred Sander, James C. Sheahan, U. Solomon, S. Norveva.
NORTH DAKOTA: C. C. Loomis, H. R. Martinson, L. M. Sheldon.
OHIO: Chas. Baker, Wm. Barnard, Tom Clifford, Jos. Jodlbauer, Frank Midney, Wm. Patterson, Marguerite Prevey, C. E. Ruthenberg, A. Wagenknecht, Scott Wilkins.
OKLAHOMA: W. H. Conley, J. T. Cumbie, H. C. Geist, A. T. Jones, J. W. Houchin, J. A. Lewis, E. L. Moore, Wm. Nias, H. L. Oder, C. G. Russell, A. G. Sechrist, S. C. Atair, L. A. Stanwood, W. W. Terry, S. C. Thompson, R. L. Thurmond, Eugene Tuttle, W. B. Smith.
OREGON: Victor J. McCone, W. N. Reivou, Albert Streiff.
PENNSYLVANIA: Wm. Adams, J. Mahlon Barnes, Dalton T. Clarke, Mrs. Mary Garber, Ed. Hayden, Wm. J. Higgins, John R. McKeown, H. E. Myers, Mrs. Maude Ross, Henry Stump, Jane Tait, C. W. Thompson, Birch L. Wilson.
RHODE ISLAND: J. M. Caldwell, Theinert.
SOUTH DAKOTA: E. F. Atwood, W. P. Butler, I. M. Iverson, F. L. Fairchild.
TENNESSEE: G. J. Braun, S. G. Gregory.
TEXAS: Wm. D. Simpson.
UTAH: Murray E. King, C. T. Stoney.
VERMONT: John Spargo.
VIRGINIA: Jesse C. Duke.
WASHINGTON: Sophus Bonnevie, Emil Herman, Laura M. House, L. E. Katterfeld, Ed. Maurer, Kate Sadler, Joseph Thomas.
WEST VIRGINIA: G. W. Gillespie, M. S. Holt.
WISCONSIN: Victor L. Berger, John Doerfler, Jr., W. R. Gaylord, Leo Kraycki, N. P. Neilsen, Emil Seidel, Gerrit Thorn.
WYOMING: Geo. E. Bateman, W. W. Paterson.
FRATERNAL DELEGATES.
 Breslauer, Polish; N. Juel Christensen, Scandinavian; John LaDuca, Italian; Arnold Neibut, Lettish; Joseph Novak, Bohemian; Nuorteva, Finnish; Frank Petrich, South Slavic; Rich. Zirkman, German.
 Young People's Department, W. F. Kruse.

National Secretary then reported a contest existing in the delegation from Michigan and South Dakota. Chairman Hillquit then declared all delegates, except those from Michigan and South Dakota, seated, and that such delegates constitute the organization of the convention.

The Chairman then appointed the following committee on Contested seats:

Adolph Germer, of Illinois.
George H. Goebel, of New Jersey.
U. Solomon, of New York.
James Oneal, of Massachusetts.
Emil Seidel, of Wisconsin.

Comrade Katterfeld, of Washington, then moved, that those of the Michigan delegates receiving the five highest numbers of votes be declared seated as the contest in that State referred only to the election of two delegates. Motion declared out of order.

Then proceeded to consideration of rules for the convention, recommended by the National Executive Committee.

Rule 1, reading as follows, was adopted:

"1. A Chairman and a Vice-Chairman shall be elected by show of hands at the beginning of each day's session."

Then proceeded to nomination and election of a permanent chairman. The following were nominated for chairman:

Morris Hillquit, of New York.
W. R. Gaylord, of Wisconsin. Gaylord declined.

Motion made and seconded that the secretary be instructed to cast one ballot for Hillquit as permanent chairman. Carried.

The following nominations were then made for permanent Vice Chairman:

Kate Sadler, of Washington
Algernon Lee, of New York
John C. Kennedy, of Illinois
W. R. Gaylord, of Wisconsin
Duncan McDonald, of Illinois
Anna Maley, of Minnesota
Emil Seidel, of Wisconsin

All nominees declined except Duncan McDonald, who was unanimously elected Vice Chairman.

Rule 2 was read and adopted, as follows:

"2. A permanent secretary, and two assistants who may be chosen from outside the body of delegates, shall be elected by show of hands for the entire convention."

The following comrades were nominated for permanent secretary of the convention:

George E. Roewer, of Massachusetts
A. Wagenknecht, of Ohio.

Wagenknecht declined, and Roewer being the sole nominee was declared elected.

Nominations of two assistant secretaries were made, as follows:

Julius Gerber, of New York
A. Wagenknecht, of Ohio
Anna Maley, of Minnesota
S. C. Thompson, of Oklahoma
Bertha Hale Brown, of Illinois
W. P. Butler, of South Dakota

Elizabeth Goldstein, of Massachusetts

Mabel Hudson, of Illinois.

All declined except Wagenknecht and Goldstein, who being the sole nominees, were declared elected.

The following rules were then read and adopted:

"3. A reading clerk shall be appointed by the chairman; also as many assistants as shall be necessary."

"4. A permanent sergeant-at-arms and such assistants as may be necessary, who may be chosen from outside the body of delegates, shall be appointed by the chairman."

"5. The sergeant-at-arms shall appoint a sufficient number of messengers to assist him."

"6. Four permanent tellers and such additional tellers as may be needed shall be appointed by the chairman."

"7. The executive secretary and members of the national executive committee who are not delegates, shall have a voice and no vote in the convention."

"8. The following committees of nine members each shall be elected

(A) Committee on war and militarism."

Motion by Holland, of Illinois, that Rule 8 be amended to read that the Committee on War and Militarism be increased from nine to fifteen members. Carried.

Amendment by Thomas, of Washington, that the committee consist of 15, but not more than one from any state.

Amendment to amendment that committee consist of one member from each state. Mover of amendment to amendment asked permission to withdraw, which was granted.

Previous question was then called for, and carried.

The motion to increase the committee from nine to 15 was carried.

The amendment was lost.

"(B) Committee on Constitution." Carried.

"(C) Committee on Platform." Carried.

Motion by Boudin, of New York, to amend by striking out rule for election of Committee on Platform.

Amendment by Lore, of New York, that committee of 9 be elected to draw up platform as outlined in the motion of the National Executive Committee to report to the membership not later than July 1, 1917, and that the provision that only one member from a state be represented on a committee shall not apply to this committee. The chairman declared the motion out of order.

The previous question was called for by Margaret Prevey, of Ohio. and carried.

Motion, to strike out committee on platform, lost.

Motion to elect such a committee, carried.

"(D) Committee on Resolutions." Carried.

"(E) Committee on Organization." Carried.

"(F) Committee on Ways and Means." Carried.

"(G) No delegate shall serve on more than one of the committees provided in the rules."

Motion by B. Mahlon Barnes, of Pennsylvania, to amend the rule that no delegate serve on more than one committee to read that the Committee on War and Militarism and on Platform be excepted.

The previous question was called for, and carried.

Motion lost.

Motion of J. M. Caldwell, of R. I., to amend rule covering duty of committee on organization by adding "to include the organization and education of the young." Carried.

C. E. Ruthenberg, of Ohio, offered motion to amend rule so as to include a committee on investigation of national office and officers. The chairmad ruled that such matter could be considered as part of the duties of the Organization Committee.

The remainder of Rule 8, reading as follows, was adopted:

"All subjects pertaining to war and militarism shall be dealt with by the committee on that question. The committee on platform shall confine its work to a general declaration of Socialist principles and of the economics and political program of the party.

"The committee on organization shall deal with methods and plans of organization, propaganda and field work.

"The Committee on Ways and Means shall devise and recommend methods of raising funds for party work including the necessary funds to cover the cost of this convention.

"All resolutions dealing with subjects which do not come within the specific province of the other committees shall be referred to the committee on resolutions."

"9. Discussion shall be limited to five minutes for each speaker. Chairman of committees shall have 20 minutes for opening reports, and they shall have the right to close discussions. No delegate shall speak a second time on any question until all those desiring to use their time shall have had an opportunity to speak."

Amended by Frank Midney, of Ohio, that the time limit of general discussion be increased from 5 to 10 minutes.

The previous question was then called for and carried.

Motion lost.

Amendment by Bernard Berlyn, of Illinois, that Rule 9 read that chairman of committees be limited to 10 minutes instead of 20.

Amendment to amendment by Samuel Holland, of Illinois, that the time of such reports be made 15 minutes.

The vote taken showed 69 in favor of the 20 minute period, 50 in favor of 15 minutes, and 53 in favor of 10 minutes. The chairman declared the debate limit to 20 minutes carried.

At this juncture the chairman declared that the report of the Committee on Contested Seats would be in order.

U. Solomon, of New York, for the committee, reported as follows:

"That it is the opinion of the committee that the state of Michigan is entitled to seven delegates, and the committee recommends that the

following comrades be seated and have one vote each: John Kiiskila, E. O. Foss, D. E. Earley, John Keracher, Albert Renner, M. Sugar, and that Comrades H. A. Hedden and Robert Westfall each be entitled to one-half vote; that this disposition of the contest in Michigan is satisfactory to all parties concerned."

Motion of Geo. H. Goebel that the report be received and adopted. Carried.

Amendment by Hogan that all delegates from Michigan, given one-half vote by the committee on contested seats, be given a full vote each, Amendment lost.

Original motion carried.

Further recommendation of committee on contested seats as to South Dakota contest: that E. F. Atwood, F. L. Fairchilds, I. M. Iverson, and W. P. B. Butler be seated, giving each one-half vote.

Motion by Henry Green, of N. J., that report of committee be accepted. Carried.

"10. The sessions of the convention shall be from 9.30 a. m. to 1.00 p. m., and from 2.30 p. m. to 5.30 p. m. Night sessions shall be held as ordered."

Motion of Solomon that this rule be amended to read that sessions of the convention be held from 9.00 a. m. to 12.30 p. m. and from 2.30 p. m. to 5.30 p. m., evening sessions as ordered. Carried.

Adjournment hour having arrived, the chairman declared recess until 2.30 p. m.

April 7, 1917.

Afternoon Session.

Delegates called to order by the chairman.

The secretary then read changes in and arrival of additions to personnel of delegates as follows:

New Jersey: James Riley, in place of Strobell.

Pennsylvania: L. Birch Wilson, Jr., J. Henry Stump.

Arizona: Cory Davenport.

Y. P. S. L.: Wm. F. Kruse, fraternal delegate.

Motion By Fred Sander, of New York, that changes be allowed and new delegates be seated. Carried.

Telegrams were then read from the following:

21st Assembly District, Kings County, Socialist Party, Brooklyn.

Thodi Liluegren, Moline, Ill.

Local St. Paul.

Local Washington, D. C.

The above telegrams, except that from Brooklyn, were referred to Committee on War and Militarism.

Telegram from Brooklyn referring to national women's secretary was referred to Committee on Organization.

The following rules were read and adopted:

"11. Roberts' Rules of Order shall be used with this exception: When the previous question is ordered one delegate on each side may speak

for five minutes; also that the previous question may be ordered by majority vote.

"12. During the sessions no smoking shall be allowed.

"13. The vote of no state shall be passed as a unit where the delegates of such state are not in agreement on the matter upon which vote is being taken."

"14. Each delegation shall designate, in the absence of any delegate, the alternate who shall fill such vacancy, if there are any duly elected alternates present from the state."

Motion by Solomon, of New York, that Rule 14 be amended by striking out the words "If there are any duly elected alternates elected present from the state." Carried.

"15. Neither contesting nor contested delegates shall vote on any question relating to their right to be seated." Adopted.

"16. A roll call shall be had when demanded by at least 25 delegates."

Motion by Sander, of New York, to amend that 50 instead of 25 delegates shall be the number required to demand a roll call.

Amendment by J. T. Cumbie, of Oklahoma, that a majority of the delegates only may demand a roll call.

Amendment lost.

Amendment to amendment lost.

Rule 16 adopted as read.

"17. All resolutions offered from the floor of the Convention shall be read to the convention and referred by the chairman to the proper committee without discussion."

Motion by Robt. H. Howe, of Illinois, to amend that all resolutions be read from the floor of the convention and be referred by the chairman of the convention without discussion to the proper committees.

Amendment by Ludwig Lore, of New York, that the resolutions committee report all resolutions introduced whether acted upon favorably or unfavorably by the resolutions committee.

Amendment to amendment made by Duncan McDonald, of Illinois, that any resolutions offered from the floor be read by title and referred to the proper committee by the chairman of convention.

Motion lost.

Amendment carried.

Amendment to amendment carried.

"18. Immediately before the adjournment of each afternoon session, resolutions offered by delegates shall be received and referred."

Motion by Geo. H. Goebel, of N. J., that no resolution be received after Tuesday evening.

Amendment by F. G. Biedenapp, of New York, to substitute Wednesday evening for Tuesday evening.

The previous question was then called for and carried.

Amendment lost.

Motion carried.

"19. The rules may be suspended at any time by a majority of the delegates voting." Adopted

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The following were read and adopted:

"1. The Convention shall be called to order by the Chairman of the preceeding day, or in his absence by the Vice-Chairman, or the Executive Secretary, and the Chairman and Vice-Chairman shall be elected for the day.

"2. Roll call of delegates unless dispensed with by motion.

"3. Reading of minutes of preceding day unless dispensed with by motion.

"4. Communications.

"5. Report on credentials.

"6. Unfinished business of the preceding day.

"7. Reports of officers and committees in the following order:

"Report of Executive Secretary.

"Report of National Executive Committee.

"Report of American Socialist.

"Report of Foreign Speaking Federations.

"Report of Committee on War and Militarism.

"Report of Committee on Constitution.

"Report of Committee on Platform.

"Report of Committee on Resolutions.

"Report of Committee on Organization.

"Report of Committee on Ways and Means."

Motion made to amend that report of Y. P. S. L. be inserted after report on American Socialist. Carried.

Motion by Geo. H. Goebel, of N. J., to strike out reports on American Socialist, Y. P. S. L. and Foreign Speaking Federations. Lost.

Motion by L. E. Katterfeld, of Washington, that such of the standing committees as were elected at the last meeting of the national committee that were ready to report shall be heard after the regular committees have reported.

Thos. W. Williams, of California, moved to lay the above motion on the table. Carried.

"8. New business." Adopted.

"9. Receiving and referring of resolutions." Adopted.

"10. Adjournment." Adopted.

Motion by Chas. W. Noonan, of New York, that Committee on War and Militarism shall report not later than Tuesday afternoon at 3 o'clock; the Committee on Platform not later than Tuesday afternoon at 4 o'clock; the Committee on Constitution not later than Wednesday afternoon at 3 o'clock; each of these committees to have their report printed for distribution immediately after their report is made; no action or consideration of these reports shall be heard earlier than the following morning after the reports are made.

Motion to table carried.

Motion by Kate Sadler, of Washington, that we elect committee of 9 to receive reports of the press and national offices.

Amendment by Geo. H. Goebel, of N. J., that the above committee consist of 5 members, and that after examining these reports they shall assign the various reports to committees which they concern.

Motion by W. R. Gaylord, of Wisc., to lay motion before the house on the table. Carried.

Motion by Ludwig Lore, of New York, that Committee on War and Militarism report not later than Tuesday morning and that all other pending business be laid aside at such time.

Amendment by J. T. Cumbie, of Oklahoma, that Monday be substituted instead of Tuesday.

The previous question was then called for and carried.

Amendment lost.

Original motion carried.

Motion by G. C. Porter, of Nebraska, to adopt rules of order as a whole as amended. Carried.

The chairman subsequently made the following appointments according to rules:

Reading Clerk: Walter Millard, of Kentucky.

Sergeant in Chief: Frank O'Hare, of Missouri.

Tellers: James Riley, of New Jersey; Thomas Williams, of California; L. E. Katterfeld, of Washington; P. G. Leonard, of New Hampshire.

Nomination and election of committee of 15 on war and militarism was then declared in order.

Nominations: G. W. Kleihege, of Kansas; L. B. Boudin, of New York; H. Jacob P. Enemark, of Maine; George Spiess, Jr., of Conn.; Walter Thomas Mills, of Cal.; Kate O'Hare, of Missouri; Al. Renner of Michigan; Allan L. Benson, of New York; Morris Hillquit of New York; John R. McKeown, of Penn.; A. G. Sechrist, of Okla.; Walter B. Dillon, of New Mexico; A. F. Meissner, of Montana; James Oneal, of Mass.; F. G. Bieden-kapp, of New York; Victor L. Berger, of Wis.; P. J. Quinlan, of N. J.; Edgar Owens, of Ill.; Job. Harriman, of Cal.; J. R. Barnette, of Ari.; Duncan McDonald, of Ill.; S. A. Koppnagel, of Ill.; John Spargo, of Vermont; Algernon Lee, of New York; C. E. Ruthenberg, of Ohio; C. T. Stoney, of Utah; Victor J. McCone, of Oregon; S. G. Gregory, of Tenn.; Margaret Prevey, of Ohio; Dan Hogan, of Ark.; W. P. Collins, of Colo.; Frank Midney, of Ohio; Wm. J. Higgins, of Penn.; Maynard Shipley, of Md.; I. F. Steward, of Idaho; Anna Maley, of Minn.; Birch L. Wilson, of Penn.; C. W. Thompson, of Penn.; Albert Streiff, of Ore.; Jas. C. Sheahan, of New York; Kate Sadler, of Wash.; Bernard Berlyn, of Ill.; Jane Tate, of Penn.; W. R. Gaylord of Wis.

The Chairman ruled that the language federation secretaries be not permitted to act as members of committees, nor make nominations. The ruling of the Chairman was appealed from by Robt. H. Howe, of Illinois. The Chairman was sustained.

Acceptances and declinations called for, and the following declined: Walter Thomas Mills, of Cal.; Duncan McDonald, of Ill.; Margaret Prevey,

of Ohio; Anna Maley, of Minn.; Albert Streiff, of Ore.; Bernard Berlyn, of Ill.; Jane Tate, of Penn.

Motion by L. E. Katterfeld, of Washington, that before we proceed to ballot for the above nominees each candidate to be asked to answer the question by "Yes" or "No": "Are you opposed to all militarism and to all war, either offensive or defensive, except the war of the working class against the capitalist class?"

The Chairman relinquished the gavel to Vice-Chairman McDonald.

Motion by John R. McKeowin, of Pennsylvania, that the Katterfeld motion be laid on the table was ruled out of order.

The previous question was called for, and carried.

By vote of 66 to 96 the motion was lost.

Motion by U. Solomon, of New Yrk, that the national secretary be empowered to print ballots for Committee on War and Militarism and that the vote be taken the first thing tomorrow (Sunday) morning.

Amendment by R. H. Howe, of Illinois, that we now proceed to vote, that the votes be collected, counted, and the result announced the first thing in the morning.

Amendment to amendment by Albert Streiff, of Oregon, that we proceed to vote now and elect all 15 committeemen before we adjourn.

Amendment to amendment declared out of order.

Appeal was taken by Bernard Berlyn, of Illinois, from the ruling of the Chairman to the effect that delegates may vote for more than one nominee from any one state. The appeal was withdrawn.

U. Solomon, of New York, withdrew his motion by common consent.

The tellers were instructed to proceed to collect the ballots on committee for war and militarism.

The Chairman then asked if all had voted who desired to, and finding that all voting had ceased, declared the session adjourned until 9 o'clock Sunday morning April 8th.

GEORGE E. ROEWER, JR., Secretary.

SECOND DAY, Morning Session..

Sunday, April 8th, 1917.

Convention called to order at 9:20 by Chairman Hillquit.

Following nominations were made for chairman:

McDonald of Illinois (accepted); Ruthenberg of Ohio (declined); Howe of Illinois (accepted); Hillquit of New York (declined); Kate R. O'Hare of Miss. (accepted); Henry of Indiana (declined); Cumbie of Oklahoma (declined); Seacrest of Oklahoma (declined).

Kate Richards O'Hare was declared elected chairman by 86 votes; McDonald received 53, and Howe, 10 votes.

Following nominations were made for vice-chairman:

McDonald of Illinois (declined); Boudin of New York (declined); Ruthenberg of Ohio (declined); Prevey of Ohio (declined); Oneal of Massachusetts (declined); Cumbie of Oklahoma (accepted); Williams of California (accepted); Howe of Illinois (accepted); Adams of Minnesota (declined).

Cumbie of Oklahoma was elected by 55 votes; Williams 34; Howe 29 votes.

Comrade Wagenknecht resigned as assistant secretary.

The following were nominated to fill the vacancy: Jane Taite of Pennsylvania and James Reilly of New Jersey.

Comrade Reilly was elected by 58 votes; Comrade Taite received 50 votes.

Moved by Boudin, that roll call be dispensed with. Previous question called for and carried. Motion defeated.

Motion by Jackman of Indiana, that attendance cards be printed.

Seidel of Wisconsin moved a substitute motion that secretary be empowered to place a secretary of the roll call at the door tomorrow morning.

Hillquit of New York made a point of order that decision on this point is out of order, and was sustained by the chair.

Hillquit moved that tellers be requested to inform the Convention the result on the Committee on War and Militarism. Carried.

Tellers made report as follows:

A total of 185 ballots was cast, of which 3 were void, due to the delegates either not signing them, or voting for more than 15 members. These ballots, if counted, would not have affected the result:

The fifteen elected were:

	Votes
KATE RICHARDS O'HARE, OF MISSOURI.....	129
MORRIS HILLQUIT, OF NEW YORK.....	114
KATE SADLER, OF WASHINGTON.....	101
PATRICK L. QUINLAN, OF NEW JERSEY.....	95
C. E. RUTHENBERG, OF OHIO.....	90
DAN HOGAN OF ARKANSAS.....	90
ALGERNON LEE, OF NEW YORK.....	81
LOUIS D. BOUDIN, OF NEW YORK.....	80

JOB HARRIMAN, OF CALIFORNIA.....	78
JOHN SPARGO, OF VERMONT.....	72
MAYNARD SHIPLEY, OF MARYLAND.....	71
FRANK C MIDNEY, OF OHIO.....	71
WALTER B. DILLON, OF NEW MEXICO.....	70
VICTOR L. BERGER, OF WISCONSIN.....	66
GEORGE A. SPIESS, OF CONNECTICUT.....	65
VOTES FOR OTHER CANDIDATES WERE:	

Benson, 63; Owens, 54; Meisner, 50; Wilson, 43; Higgins, 39; McKeown, Pa., 33; Beidenkapp, 14; Collins, 61; Renner, 52; Seacrest, 45; Thompson, 41; Stewart, 38; Barnett, 31; Kleihege, 12; Gaylord, 58; Gregory, 51; McCone, 43; Knopfnagel, 41; Stoney, 34; Enemark, 31.

Votes were also cast for twelve Comrades, whose names did not appear on the list of candidates, as follows:

Streiff, 14; Oneal, 3; Katterfeld, 2; Henry, 1; Maley, 6; Work, 2; Prevey, 2; Pickering, 1; Mills, 4; Germer, 2; McDonald, 2; Barnes, 1.

We desire to recommend to the Convention that in the election of other committees, the nominations for all be made at the morning session of April 8th, and that ballots with the names of all candidates be prepared, so that the voting may take place at the commencement of the afternoon session.

Fraternally,

James M. Reilly, L. E. Katterfeld, T. W. Williams, P. J. Leonard.

Tellers.

Hilquit of New York moved that the members of the Committee on War and Militarism be excused and allowed to retire to transact their business at once. Previous question called for and carried.

Harriman of California moved that hereafter in the election of committees, each ballot cast shall contain the full number of names required upon such committee.

Zimmerman of Indiana moved to table Harriman's motion. Carried by vote of 90 to 56.

Mills of California moved that in voting for committees, hereafter five names shall be voted on.

Chairman ruled this motion out of order, and was appealed from. By vote of 103 to 46 the Chair was sustained.

Caldwell of Rhode Island moved that we proceed to nominate and elect remainder of committees of the Convention.

Bloom of Massachusetts moved for previous question which was carried.

Caldwell's motion was then carried.

Comrade O'Hare now offered resignation as chairman of the day, and retired to do her work on the Committee on War and Militarism.

Sandler of New York called for previous question which was carried.

Comrade O'Hare's resignation was accepted.

The Chairman ruled that on resignation of chairman, vice-chairman becomes chairman.

The following were nominated for vice-chairman:

Solomon of New York (declined); Howe of Illinois (accepted); Williams of California (accepted); Fenner of Massachusetts (declined); Katterfeld of Washington (declined); Mahoney of New York (declined).

By a vote of 71, Howe of Illinois was elected vice-chairman against a vote of 65 for Williams.

The following nominations were made for the Committee on Constitution:

Solomon of New York (accepted); Hayden of Pennsylvania (accepted); Oneal of Massachusetts (accepted); Moore of Oklahoma (accepted); Kennedy of Illinois (accepted); McCrown of Pennsylvania (accepted); King of California (accepted); Parks of New Mexico (accepted); Gaylord of Wisconsin (accepted); Berlyn of Illinois (accepted); Zimmermann of Indiana (accepted); Katterfeld of Washington (accepted).

Norteva of New York (declined); Belooof of Kansas (accepted); Kraft of New Jersey (accepted); Mills of California (accepted); Plunkett of Connecticut (accepted); Westfall of Michigan (accepted); Gerber of New York (declined); McGehe of Colorado (declined); Barnard of Ohio (accepted); Davenport of Arizona (accepted); Martinson of North Dakota (accepted); Collins of Colorado (accepted); Pauly of New York (declined); Rowitch of New York (accepted); Maley of Minnesota (accepted); Fields of Idaho (accepted); Benson of New York (declined); Meisner of Montana (accepted); Goebel of New Jersey (accepted); Cumbie of Oklahoma (declined); Hough of Massachusetts (accepted); Williams of California (accepted).

Motion by Berlyn of Illinois that we proceed with nomination and election of the other committees.

Solomon of New York moved that we proceed with election of other committees, and if a member has been nominated for more than one committee he himself shall determine in what committee he wishes to serve, and the comrade receiving the next highest vote on the committee shall take his place.

Sander of New York called for previous question. Carried.

Howe of Illinois moved that nominations shall be passed up in writing. Clifford of Ohio moved that nomination by roll call of each state.

Gaylord of Wisconsin moved to put all of these motions and amendment on the table. Carried.

Solomon's motion carried.

Biedenkapp of New York moved that chairman start at the right side of the room and proceed to the left in accepting nominations.

Solomon moved that above motion be tabled.

Prevey of Illinois asked for unanimous opinion on personal privilege. Was not sustained.

Duke of Virginia moved that sergeant-at-arms name the ten members who assist him in maintaining order.

Millard of Kentucky moved to table above motion. Carried.

Howe of Illinois moved that we proceed to ballot on Committee on Constitution. Carried.

Holland of Illinois moved that we proceed to nomination and election of next committee.

Sander of New York moved previous question. Carried.

The Convention then proceeded to nominate Committee on Platform. The following were nominated:

Mitchell of Kansas (accepted); White of Florida (accepted); Gillespie of West Virginia (accepted); Kleihege of Kansas (accepted); Boudin of New York (accepted); King of California (accepted); Love of New York (accepted); Sugar of Michigan (accepted); McCone of Oregon (accepted); Mc-

Donald of Illinois (declined); Gregory of Tennessee (accepted); Mills of California (declined); Lewis of Oklahoma (declined); Noonan of New York (declined)

Lulow of New York (declined); Kennedy of Illinois (declined); Stanwood of Oklahoma (accepted); Oppenheimer of New York (accepted); Kraftt of New Jersey (accepted); Thorne of Wisconsin (accepted); Millard of Kentucky (accepted); Goebel of New Jersey (accepted); Howe of Illinois (accepted); Holland of Illinois (declined); Fairchild of North Dakota (accepted); Thomas of Washington (accepted); Owens of Illinois (accepted); Collins of Colorado (accepted); Clifford of Ohio (declined); McGehe of Colorado (declined); Gaylord of Wisconsin (declined); Thomas of Washington (declined); Barnes of Pennsylvania (accepted); Pauly of New York (declined); Oneal of Massachusetts (accepted); Malley of Minnesota (declined) Prevey of Ohio (declined); Fields of Idaho (declined); Renner of Michigan (declined); King of Utah (accepted);

The following were nominated on Committee on Resolutions:

Adams of Minnesota (accepted); Gregory of Illinois (accepted); Renner of Michigan (declined); Millard of Kentucky (accepted); Stewart of Ohio (accepted); Schultze of Massachusetts (accepted); Lulow of New York (accepted); Maurer of Washington (accepted); Butler of South Dakota (accepted); Prevey of Ohio (accepted); Sheldon of North Dakota (declined); Iverson of South Dakota (accepted); Leonard of New Hampshire (accepted); Seidel of Wisconsin (declined); Wilson of Pennsylvania (accepted); McElroy of Montana (accepted); Knopfnagel of Illinois (accepted); Clifford of Ohio (accepted); Benson of New York (declined); Mills of California (declined); Owens of Illinois (accepted); Gaylord of Wisconsin (declined); Bausch of New Jersey (accepted); Neilsen of Wisconsin (accepted); Noonan of New York (accepted); Oder of Oklahoma (accepted); Tuttle of Oklahoma (declined); Zimmermann of Indiana (accepted); Pierce of North Carolina (accepted); Biedenknapp of New York (declined); Duke of Virginia (accepted); Mahoney of New York (declined); Foss of Michigan (accepted); Oppenheimer of New York (declined); Kisskila of Michigan (accepted); Conley of Idaho (declined); Holt of West Virginia (accepted); McKee of California (declined); McCrillis of Iowa (accepted); Theinert of Rhode Island (accepted); Jones of Louisiana (accepted); Pimbley of Florida (declined); King of California (declined); Streiff of Oregon (accepted); Thomas of Washington (declined).

The Convention then proceeded to ballot for the Platform Committee, and the following were nominated as assistant tellers: Fenner of Massachusetts; Conley of Oklahoma, and Duke of Virginia.

The Convention adjourned at 12:30 for noon recess until 2:30

SECOND DAY, Afternoon Session.

Sunday, April 8th, 1917.

Delegates called to order by the Chairman at 2:30 p. m.

Convention proceeded to nominate members of the Committee on Organization. The following were nominated: Caldwell of Rhode Island, Oneal of Massachusetts, Norvea of New York, McCone of Oregon, Millis of Georgia, Shea of Connecticut, King of California, Pauly of New York, Early of Michigan, Mahoney of New York, Gregory of Tennessee, Gerber of New York, Houtchen of Ohio, McKee of California, Baker of Maine, Noonan of New York, Wagenknecht of Ohio, Henry of Indiana, Green of New Jersey, Jones of New Jersey, Krzycki of Wisconsin, Davenport of Arizona, Castle of Illinois, King of Utah, McDonald of Illinois, McGee of Colorado, Butler of South Dakota, Sheldon of North Dakota, Haden of Pennsylvania,

Conley of Idaho, Herman of Washington, Vanderberg of Minnesota, Parks of New Mexico, McCrillis of Iowa, Young of Maryland, Stafford of Minnesota, Fields of Idaho, Marcus of Massachusetts, Kleihege of Kansas, Mills of California.

The following declined: Oneal of Mass., King of Cal., Gerber of N. Y., Noonan of N. Y., Stafford of Minn., and Mills of Cal.

Noonan of New York moved that the tellers who are ready to report should report prior to election of the next committee. Carried.

Sander of New York moved that names of those elected on committee be put on blackboard, so that convention may know how to vote intelligently on the committees that are to follow. Carried.

Comrade Gerber for Constitution Committee reported the following delegates elected: Mayley of Minnesota, 115 votes; Kennedy of Illinois, 113; Solomon of New York, 103; Mills of California, 90; Williams of California, 87; Matterfeild of Washington, 87, Henry of Indiana, 81; Goebel of New Jersey, 80; Gaylord of Wisconsin 79.

The vote for the other candidates was: Moore of Oklahoma, 72; McKeown of Pennsylvania, 72; Parks of New Mexico, 36; Berlyn of Illinois, 66; Ballou of Kansas, 42; Krafft of New Jersey, 34; Plunkett of Connecticut, 51; Westfall of Michigan, 29; Bernard of Ohio, 71; Davenport of Arizona, 33; Martinson of North Dakota, 28; Collins of Colorado, 73; Rowitch of New York, 29; Fields of Idaho, 27; Meissner of Montana, 72; Hough of Massachusetts, 38.

Caldwell of Rhode Island moved that the secretary be instructed to disqualify the nominations of candidates for committees who are already elected on other committees.

Amendment that candidates be asked to withdraw from committees, who are nominated twice.

Motion, to table the amendment and original motion. Carried.

Howe of Illinois moved that every member that is elected on a committee should sit during the session of that committee.

Chair declared motion out of order.

Convention proceeded to nominate for Committee on Ways and Means. The following were nominated: Wassing of Minnesota, House of Washington, Seidel of Wisconsin, Howe of Illinois, Annala of Massachusetts, Fenner of Massachusetts, Wattles of Indiana, Fulks of Arkansas, Meyers of Pennsylvania, Meissner of Montana, Loomis of North Dakota, Baker of Ohio, Parks of New Mexico, Holland of Illinois, Barnett of Arizona, Grant of Missouri, Brandt of Missouri, Green of New Jersey, Gerber of New York, Tuttle of Oklahoma, Hillsdorf of New York, Beloo of Kansas, Herman of Washington, Metcalf of Iowa, Sugar of Michigan, Bowman of Iowa.

The following declined: Wassing of Minn., Seidel of Wis., Howe of Ill., Wattles of Ind., Brandt of Mo., Gerber of N. Y., Herman of Wash.

The Reading Clerk read the following telegrams:

From Rose Gildson of New York, relative to creation of National Women's Committee;

From Helen R. Fisher, new York, relative to agitation among women;

From N. L. Clarke, Magnolia, Texas, relative to preparedness and war;

From Ruth Le Prade, Los Angeles, Cal., relative to war;

From Secretary Raphael, Detroit, Mich., relative to war;

From Sarah Volovick, New York, urging National Woman's Committee;

From Jacob Klein, Poughkeepsie, N. J., relative to war;

From Ether Friedman, New York, urging creation of Women's Committee;

From Bert L. Hopkins, pledging refusal to read capitalist papers.

New York delegates reported that Joseph Cannon from New York was present and would now act in capacity of delegate in place of Norteve, alternate delegate.

The Convention elected the following as tellers on the Committee on Organization: Metcalf of Iowa, Collin of Colorado, Bonnevie of Washington, Russell of Oklahoma.

Oklahoma delegation recommended that Leonard R. Johnson be seated as delegate for Oklahoma to fill a vacancy. Approved.

The following were elected as tellers on the Committee on Ways and Means: Mahoney of New York, Lewis of Oklahoma, Taite of Pennsylvania. Renner of Michigan.

The Executive Secretary, Adolph Germer, made his report, copy of which has been distributed to delegates.

Motion by Oppenheimer of New York that the report of the Executive Secretary be received and open for action. Carried.

Comrade Oppenheimer took the floor to discuss report.

Gerber of New York raised point of order that Comrade Oppenheimer is not talking the point. Chair ruled that Oppenheimer's time had expired.

Higgins of Pennsylvania moved that Oppenheimer be permitted to talk 5 minutes longer.

Oneal of Massachusetts moved that in as much as the whole matter will come up later under the various committee reports, that this report of National Secretary be referred to the various committees for consideration. Chair declared this out of order.

Diehl of Illinois moved to suspend the rules provided for a five minute limit.

Bloom of Massachusetts moved that the entire matter be referred to the proper committees, and that they report to convention. Carried.

Tellers for Platform Committee reported that Committee on Platform was elected as follows: Oneal 114, Millard 93, Barnes 88, Stanwood 76, Lore 71, Thomas 71, Cameron King 70, Patterson 65, Murray King 65.

The vote for the other candidates was as follows: Mitchell 50, White 49, Gillespie 46, Keracher 41, Ravia 31, Sugar 29, McCone 51, Gregory 58, Oppenheimer 59, Krafft 30, Thorn 29, Gobell 59, Howe 61, Fairchild 54, Owens 49, Collins 53.

Moore of Oklahoma moved that S. W. Sample of Oklahoma be seated as additional delegate from his state. Carried.

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THIRD DAY, Morning Session.

Monday, April 9, 1917.

Convention called at 9 a. m. by the Chair.

Following were nominated for Chairman of the Day: McDonald of Illinois (declined); Millard of Kentucky (declined); Jos. Cannon of New York (accepted); Sheehan of New York (accepted); Seidel of Wisconsin (declined); Goebel of New Jersey (absent); Oppenheimer of New York (declined); Renner of Michigan (accepted); Barnes of Pennsylvania (absent); Brandt of Missouri (declined);

By a vote of 71 Jos. Cannon was elected Chairman. — Six votes were cast for Sheehan and 48 for Renner.

The following were nominated for Vice-Chairman: Renner of Michigan (declined); Cumbie of Oklahoma (accepted); Baker of Ohio (accepted); Millard of Kentucky (declined. By a vote of 76 to 23 Baker was elected.

Wisconsin delegation reported that Buech of Wisconsin arrived this morning, and was recorded as delegate.

Kansas delegation reported that Ella Baldwin of Kansas City was present and the latter was seated in place of Phil Callery who had not arrived.

The secretary proceeded with roll call.

Biedenbapp of New York moved that this Convention send a telegram either to the Mayor of New York or the Governor of New York, requesting that the authorities as such give their stand or permission to continue holding street meetings, protesting against the actions committed in Queens last Friday.

Motion was ruled out of order on account of motion of yesterday to adjourn immediately following roll call.

It was moved and seconded that the Convention be adjourned. Convention adjourned at 10 o'clock, to reconvene at 2:30 p. m.

THIRD DAY, Afternoon Session.

Monday, April 9, 1917.

Meeting called to order at 2:30 p. m. by Chairman Cannon.

Telegrams read by Reading Clerk Millard as follows:

From Paterson, N. J., and Russian Branch No. 4, Chicago, urging against war; from Adele Seltzer, New York, urging the election of a National Woman's Committee and National Woman's Secretary and agitation among women; from Anne and Austin Montany, same as above; from Rochester, N. Y., Local, Socialist Conference of Russian Immigrants, Jewish Branch, Rochester, N. Y., G. A. Gneizer, West Virginia, all against war; from Selma McCone, Portland, Ore., commending action of convention so far; from Douglas P. K. "Yipsels," sending greetings to Convention; Branch 251, Workmen's Circle, Providence, R. I., and West Side Y. P. S. L., Chicago, Ill., against war.

Comrade W. F. Kruse then read the report of the Y. P. S. L., copy of which has been distributed to the delegates.

Motion by Diehl of Illinois that the report of the Y. P. S. L. Department be received and that the recommendations proposed by Comrade Kruse be concurred in. Motion withdrawn by Diehl.

The Chairman then referred the report of the Y. P. S. L. Department to the Committee on Organization.

Motion by Williams of California that the reports of the N. E. C., American Socialist, and Foreign Speaking Federations be referred to the proper committees by the Chairman without reading.

Amendment by Goebel of New Jersey that the report of the N. E. C. be referred to the proper standing committees without reading.

Change accepted by Williams of California.

Substitute motion by Holland of Illinois that the report of the National Executive Committee be read. Carried.

X Comrade John M. Work read the report for the N. E. C., a copy of which has been distributed to each delegate.

Report was received and referred to proper committees.

X Comrade Adolph Dreifuss read the report of the Foreign-Speaking Federation, copies of which have been supplied to all delegates.

Report referred to proper committees by the Chairman.

Motion by Leonard of New Hampshire that report on American Socialist be deferred until arrival of Comrade Engdahl from Chicago, who had to leave the city to get out the next edition of the American Socialist. Motion carried.

X Comrade Spargo reported on the Non-Partisan League of North Dakota and various other States, copies of which were distributed among the delegates.

Holland from Illinois moved that before this report be referred to a committee or accepted by the Convention that the delegates from North and South Dakota be asked to give their personal observations on this matter. To permit Comrade Spargo to withdraw.

Then followed questions by delegates upon different phases of the work of the Non-Partisan League, which were answered by Comrade Spargo.

Stafford of Minnesota moved that Comrade Spargo be excused from further answering questions. Carried.

Motion by Gaylord of Wisconsin that this matter be referred to the Constitution and Organization Committee. Carried.

A motion was made to seat Max Goldfarb from the Jewish Socialist Federation as fraternal delegate. Carried.

Telegram, addressed to Ed Owens, from Moline, Ill., urging action against war. Referred to War and Militarism Committee.

Motion by Sheehan of New York that James Larkin be given the privilege of addressing the Convention. Comrade Larkin addressed the Convention on the great urgency and importance of Mooney et al. cases in California, urging an investigation of the entire prosecution.

Motion made by Solomon of New York that we adjourn until to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock. Carried.

Convention adjourned at 5:07.

FOURTH DAY SESSION.

Tuesday Morning.

April 10, 1917.

Meeting called to order by Chairman Cannon at 9:15. The following were nominated for chairman of the day:

Howe of Illinois—accepted.

Collins of Colorado—accepted.

Strieff of Oregon—declined.

Stump of Pennsylvania—declined.

By a vote of 57 for Howe and 40 for Collins, Howe was declared elected chairman.

The following were nominated for Vice-Chairman:

Collins of Colorado—declined.

Adams of Minnesota—declined.

Oppenheimer of New York—accepted.

Seidel of Wisconsin—declined.

Comrade Oppenheimer being the only nominee to accept, he was elected Vice-Chairman by acclamation.

The Secretary then proceeded to call the roll.

The name of Julian Pierce, District of Columbia, omitted on printed roll call, was added. He has thus far been present at all sessions of the convention.

The following telegrams were read by Reading Clerk Willard:

From San Francisco, imprisoned labor leaders sending greeting to Convention.

From Jewish Socialist Br., of Cleveland; the league to oppose conscription; K. Kranz, New York, urging action against war.

From J. Eades Howe.

Telegrams were distributed to proper committees.

Comrade Engdahl reported on the American Socialist; copies of report will be distributed to delegates later.

Motion by Streiff of Oregon that the report be referred to proper committee. Carried.

Krafft, of New Jersey, moved that the publishers of the American Socialist hold a conference with all the state secretaries present here, pertaining to the matter of starting state editions of the American Socialist. Carried.

Motion by Stafford, of Minnesota, that we hear the report of the Committee on Banking. Carried.

Karl F. M. Sandberg, of Illinois, made the Majority Additional Report, copies of which were distributed to delegates.

Mil'ard, of Kentucky, read the Minority Report, prepared by Lucien Sanlal.

Discussion then followed in which delegates asked questions of Sandberg on various phases of the report.

Motion by Hedden, of Michigan, that Comrade Sandberg be excused from answering any further questions.

Motion by Biedenkapp, of New York, that the Convention send a telegram to the mayor of New York protesting against the unlawful action of the authorities in suppressing a Socialist meeting in Queens County, New York.

Amended by Higgins, of Pennsylvania, that the Convention send a telegram to the President of the United States protesting against suppression of free speech in America.

Change accepted by Biedenkapp, of New York.

Motion by Cannon, of New York, that the matter be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

A division was asked for on this motion, and the motion was defeated by a vote of 67 against 34.

Motion by Higgins was carried.

Comrade Howe, of Illinois, took the floor to discuss minority report of Committee on Banking.

Adams, of Minnesota, raised point of order Comrade Howe was taking more than allotted time, and on further objection by Meissner, of Montana, Chair ruled point well taken. Chair ordered both reports on banking referred to Committee on Platform, under the rules.

Motion by Millard, of Kentucky, that the Standing Committee be continued on Banking and Currency and Credits, and shall submit its final report to the next regularly constituted convention of the Party.

Amendment by Green, of New Jersey, that this majority report be printed in sufficient numbers and distributed to the delegates.

Substitute by Sample, of Oklahoma, that this entire matter be referred to a new committee to be elected by this convention.

Motion by Bloom, of Massachusetts, that the entire matter be laid on the table. Motion carried.

Motion by Adams, of Minnesota, that this convention listen to the reports of any standing committees that may be ready to report.

Motion by Lulow, of New York, that secretaries be instructed to send the telegram to the President. Motion carried.

Following telegram sent at 11:25 a. m.:

St. Louis, April 10, 1917.

Hon Woodrow Wilson,
Washington, D. C.

Constituted authorities in various sections of the country are suppressing the right of free speech and assemblage by preventing the holding of meetings called to protest against war and militarism. Socialist Party National Convention, assembled in St. Louis, enters its protest against this procedure and urges you to see to it that constitutional rights are preserved and the laws faithfully executed.

GEORGE E. ROEWER, Jr.,

Secretary.

The Convention took a recess of five minutes, by order of Chair.

Comrade Chas. C. Fenner, of Massachusetts, reported for Committee on Ways and Means, copies of which were distributed to delegates.

Comrade Meissner, of Montana, took the floor to explain his objection to the recommendation of the committee as to the proposal that a special assessment of 50 cents be levied upon the membership.

Motion made by Gerber, of New York, that the recommendations of the committee be taken up seriatim. Motion carried.

Amendment by Gerber, of New York, on first recommendation of the committee: That this assessment be payable in two installments of 25 cents, to be paid within six months.

Motion by Cumble, of Oklahoma, that the question be divided as to whether or not we are going to adopt the assessment of 50 cents at all. Carried.

Motion by Goebel, of New Jersey, that we make assessment of \$1.00 instead of 50 cents, as provided in first recommendation of the committee.

Oppenheimer, of New York, moved that Committee on Resolutions make a partial report, providing Committee on War and Militarism is not ready to report at conclusion of action on report of Ways and Means Committee.

Time of Adjournment having arrived, the Convention adjourned until 2:30.

FOURTH DAY, APRIL 10, 1917.

Tuesday Afternoon Session.

Convention called to order by Chairman Howe at 2:30 p. m.

Motion by McKeown, of Pennsylvania, that the National Executive Committee be instructed to compile a statement of the total indebtedness of the National Organization, including the expenses of the Emergency Convention, and apportion same to the respective state organizations on the basis of their present membership, and that each state organization be requested to make final report and payment within ninety days.

Amended by Work, of N. E. C., that the word "requested" in above motion be stricken out and the word "required" substituted.

The mover of the motion accepted the amendment.

Previous motion was called for by Lacher, of Minnesota.

The substitute motion was carried.

Motion by Soloman, of New York, that action on second recommendation be delayed until we hear from the Constitution Committee. Carried.

Motion by Knopfnagel that we concur in the second recommendation.

Point of order by Gerber, of New York, that this is out of order. Point of order sustained by Chair.

Motion by Cumble, of Oklahoma, that the third recommendation be laid on the table carried by a vote of 67 to 40.

Motion by Strieff, of Oregon, that the National Secretary be instructed by this Convention to prepare either some red badges or buttons and have printed on them in substance, that the holder has paid 50 cents or a dollar to defray the expenses of the National Convention.

McKeown, of Pennsylvania, raised point of order that his substitute motion put it up to the states to adopt such methods. Chair ruled point well taken. Strieff appealed from Chair. By a vote of 57 to 56 the Chair was sustained.

Comrade Prevey, of Ohio, reported for Committee on Resolutions, in part as follows:

1. On Tom Mooney case, urging congressional investigation, and reprieve of Mooney pending said investigation. Carried unanimously.

FOURTH DAY—EVENING SESSION.

Tuesday, April 10, 1917.

Meeting called to order at 8:12 p. m. by Chairman Howe.

Comrade Prevey, of Ohio, reported for Committee on Additional Resolutions as follows:

5. On Relation of Socialist Party to Non-Partisan League.

Motion by Collins, of Colorado, that Comrade LeSuer be given the floor to speak on Non-Partisan League.

Motion by Seidel, of Wisconsin, that action on this resolution be deferred until Platform Committee is first heard. Motion declared out of order by chairman.

Moved that this resolution on Non-Partisan League be referred to Platform Committee.

Knopfnagel, of Illinois, moved that motion be tabled.

Williams, of California, raised the point of order that a motion to lay on table a motion to refer was out of order. The Chair refused to uphold the point of order and Chair was appealed from. By a vote of 66 against 58 the Chair was not sustained.

Stafford, from Minnesota, raised point of order that this resolution could not properly be referred to Platform Committee. Chair ruled point not well taken.

Solomon, of New York, moved the previous question. Carried.

Barnes' motion to refer the question to Platform Committee was lost.

Stafford, of Minnesota, moved the previous question on the adoption of the resolution. Carried.

Motion by Margaret Prevey, of Ohio, to adopt the resolution.

Affirmative: Collins, Plunkett, Shea, McGuigan, Pierce, Pimbley, White, Berg, Berlyn, Castle, Diehl, Dreifuss, Holland, Howe, Knopfnagel, Lundquist, McDonald, Owens, Sandberg, Farmer, Henry, Jackman, Zimmermann, Howman, McCrillis, Metcalf, Jones, Shipley, Young, Annala, Bloom, Fenner, Hough, Makela, Oneal, Schulze, Syryala, Farley, Foss, Hedden, Keracher, Klshkila, Renner, Sugar, Westfall, Adams, Locher, Rastedt, Sahlman, Stafford, Wassing, Brandt, Grant, McElroy, Leonard, Green, Krafft, Reilly, Parks, Horggren, Biedenkapp, Hilsdorf, Lore, Lulow, Noonan, Oppenheimer, Pauly, Rowitch, Sander, Sheahan, Solomon, Cannon, Loomis, Martinson, Baker, Barnard, Clifford, Jodlbauer, Midney, Patterson, Prevey, Wagenknecht, Wilkins, Conley, Lewis, Moore, Nias, Oder, Johnson, Thompson, Thurmond, Smith, McCone, Reivou, Adams, Clarke, Hayden, Higgins, McKeown, Ross, Wilson, Coldwell, Theinert, Iverson, Braun, Gregory, King, Stoney, Bonnevie, Herman, House Katterfeld Maurer, Sadler, Thomas, Gillespie, Holt.—114.

Negative: Barnette, Davenport, Fuls, King, McKee, Mills, Williams, McLahe, Conly, Fields, Stewart, Kennedy, Wattles, Baldwin, Belooof, Kleihege, Mitchell, Millard, Baker, Enemark, Marcus, Roewer, Vanderberg, Porter,

*Fourth day April 10, 1917
Tues. after 10th sessio.*

2. Resolution on Everett Washington cases, demanding of congress a federal investigation and instructing Meyer London to present this petition to congress at the earliest possible moment, and to do all in his power to secure favorable action. Carried.

3. Resolution congratulating Meyer London for services in congress in opposing war and militarism, and for his persistent efforts to maintain peace through arbitration and not through the abitrement by war.

Amended by Murray King, of Utah, that in the last paragraph of resolution the word "congratulate" be stricken out and the words "indorse the action of" be substituted.

Lacher, of Minnesota, moved the previous question. Chair ruled motion out of order.

Motion by Gerber, of New York, that the resolution be referred back to the Resolutions Committee. Carried.

4. Resolution approving the work of the Young People's Socialist League. Carried unanimously.

Motion by Lulow, of New York, that when we adjour this afternoon, we do so to meet again this evening at 7:30 p. m.

Amendment by Duke, of Virginia, that when we adjourn, we do so to meet tomorrow morning.

Amendment to the amendment by Oppenheimer, of New York, that we adjourn now, to meet at 8 o'clock this evening.

By a vote of 82 to 24 the motion carried.

Convention adjourned at 3:45 p. m.

GEORGE E. ROEWER, Jr.,

Secretary.

Bausch, Goebel, Jones, Parks, Cannon, Gerber, Mahoney, Sheldon, Sample, Jones, Houchin, Russell, Sechrist, Stanwood, Tuttle, Streiff, Barnes, Garber, Myers, Stump, Tait, Thompson, Atwood, Butler, Fairchild, Spargo, Duke, Buech, Krzycki, Neilsen, Seidel, Thorn—56.

Many delegates explained their vote as follows: I vote "No" for the following reasons:

First: Because it is not in accord with the principles and purposes of our party in stating that "Its POWER resting MAINLY in its clear cut, specific declaration of political and economic principles rather than in the number of votes cast for party candidates." In other words, let the Socialist Party confine itself to the adoption of ringing, revolutionary platform and resolutions, but leave the actual offices or means of political power to the Non-Partisan Leaguers. Our function, according to the resolution, is solely to till the soil of social ignorance and indifference, so that the Non-Partisan League politicians can occupy the seats in the various Legislatures. This, of course, is just what the League wants to accomplish.

Secondly: Because it claims "the purpose of the Socialist movement being the emancipation of the working class from economic servitude by the abolishment of the entire system of capitalist exploitation, RATHER THAN IN THE ELECTION TO OFFICE OF CANDIDATES FOR THE PURPOSE OF SPEEDY ECONOMIC REFORMS." (Capitals my own.) This proposal negatives our whole program of immediate demands; it is against political action; it is anarchistic in its tendency.

Thirdly: Because I am opposed to compromise or political trading with any other or all other political parties or organizations, while this resolution permits our individual members to support at the polls the candidates of the Non-Partisan League, rather than to put forward at every election Socialist Party candidates.

Fourth: Because this resolution was prepared by Arthur LeSeur, who admitted that he was the paid attorney of the League, and who at this moment is not a delegate to this convention or a national officer in our party. The Non-Partisan League obviously desires that we refrain from putting candidates in the field; obviously would be happy to have us pass ringing resolutions, so long as they can have the offices or political power to advance their own economic interests, but as for the working class itself having a voice in the law-making bodies of the States affected by the League—why, just refer them to a beautifully printed "clear cut, specific declaration of political and economic principles," and their conditions will immediately improve. I also voted "No" because I believe that this resolution represents the rankest piece of deception ever "put over" confiding comrades in the history of our party, but I do not believe that all members of the committee really appreciated the significance of their action.

(Signed) GEORGE E. ROEWER, JR.,
Massachusetts.

"We vote No on this resolution because it expresses the wishes of the Non-Partisan League, as voiced on the floor of the convention by the self-confessed paid attorney of the League itself. This seeks to make a propaganda

organization only of the Socialist party and to yield the political field to the League itself. The Socialist Party should stand firmly as the political party and spokesman of all groups of the working class. In this there should be "no compromise, no political trading."

(Signed) ELLA BALDWIN,
IDA BELOOF,
G. W. KLEIHEGE,
MILO MITCHELL,
Kansas."

The undersigned, voting "yes" on the report of the Resolutions Committee in regard to the S. C. "Non-Partisan League," wish to explain that in so doing their only object was to oppose fusion and political trading, and they do not regard as a correct explanation of Socialist principles that part of the third paragraph, which begins with the words, "Now, therefore," and up to and including the words, "rather than election to office of candidates."

(Signed) GEORGE MAKELA,
F. J. SYRYALA,
VICTOR ANNALA.
Massachusetts.

"H. E. Myers of Pennsylvania wishes to be recorded as agreeing with the sense of the resolution on the relation of the Socialist Party to the Non-Partisan League, but not with certain statements contained therein."

(Signed) H. E. MEYERS,
Pennsylvania.

"While opposed to any fusion of the Socialist Party with any other political party, I object to the false declaration of the resting place of Socialist power contained in this resolution."

(Signed) C. W. THOMPSON,
Pennsylvania.

"I voted 'no' on this resolution because the chairman of the committee admitted on the floor of the convention that Arthur Le Sueur, a paid employe of the Non-Partisan League, had made the original draft of the resolution; that Mr. Le Sueur, in defending the resolution from the floor, urged the members of the Socialist Party to make no special effort to elect men to office; that whenever men are elected to office they become reactionary.

"The resolution as thus drafted by Mr. Le Sueur is a covert political trick to advance the Non-Partisan League; to place the Socialist Party in an unfortunate position. It is an inconsistent, unscientific, meaningless jumble of phrases and unbecoming an intelligent body of students of sociology."

(Signed) THOMAS W. WILLIAMS,
California.

"I voted 'yes' on the above named resolution because I adhere to the uncompromising position of the Socialist Party, but the imperfect construction and phrasing of the resolution leaves much to be desired. I did not feel justified in voting 'no' because of the crudity of the composition."

(Signed) VICTOR J. McCONE,
Oregon.

"I vote 'yes' because I am in accord with the spirit of the resolution, although the wording of it does not quite suit me."

(Signed) PATRICK J. LEONARD,
New Hampshire.

Duke, of Virginia: "Vote 'no' on the Non-Partisan League resolution because of the loose language and parliamentary tactics which made amendment impossible, also for other sufficient reasons."

"I vote 'no' because this resolution expresses the wishes of the Non-Partisan League itself and its paid attorney. This motion seeks to make a propaganda organization of the Socialist Party and to yield and turn over the fruits of their efforts to the League itself. The Socialist Party should never make a compromise or fusion of this sort or kind. It should stand firmly and uncompromisingly as the political spokesman of the working class."

(Signed) ALBERT STREIFF,
Oregon.

"I vote 'no' because these resolutions express the wishes of the Non-Partisan League itself, as stated by its attorney. This statement seeks to make a propaganda organization only of the Socialist Party and to yield the political field to the League itself. The Socialist Party ought not to make a compromise of that sort. It should stand firmly as itself the political spokesman of the working class."

(Signed) WALTER THOMAS MILLS,
California.

"While I disagree with the phraseology of the resolution and its minimizing of the importance of political action in our campaign for education and class solidarity, which may create a good deal of misunderstanding and confusion and open way for anarchistic elements to parade as Socialists, and thus misrepresent our movement and method. I am voting for the resolution because I consider it very important to take a definite, negative stand on the Non-Partisan movement, and thus encourage our comrades in the various States who have remained loyal to our party and withstood the onslaught of the middle class movement."

(Signed) S. HOLLAND,
Illinois.

"I wish to be recorded as voting 'no' on resolution on "The Relation of the Socialist Party to the National Non-Partisan League," because I am not satisfied with the wording of the resolution, although I am in hearty agreement with the spirit of the resolution in condemning fusion with the National Non-Partisan League."

(Signed) JANE W. TAIT,
Pennsylvania.

"I vote 'No' on the resolution on the Non-Partisan League, because I believe the phraseology is too loosely drawn to be specific. Especially is this true of the last phrase, 'The social revolution, not political office, etc.,' which casts the reflection upon the Socialist Party that it is not in existence to obtain political power. There is also the phrase, 'its power resting mainly in its clear cut, specific declaration of political and economic principles.'

"This I hold to be the intrusion of the fatal belief that ideas work themselves out, whereas I believe the fundamental fact is that the ideas of the

workers are powerless unless they put their wills (expressed in their ballots) behind these ideas. The entire resolution is verbose phraseology and does not deal with the issue direct."

(Signed) WALTER MILLARD,

Kentucky.

"In explanation of my vote against the Resolution on Relation of the Socialist Party to the National Non-Partisan League:

"While I am opposed to political trading in any form, and am opposed to the Socialist Party dealing with the Non-Partisan League, or to any member of the party being a candidate on the Non-Partisan League ticket, I must vote against the resolution because of unsocialistic character, it being a mixture of Syndico-anarchistic middle class populism, spiced by would-be revolutionary phrases, which are meaningless, senseless and belittling of the Socialist Party and the political action of the working class, therefore is not a Socialist, but an anarchistic document, and, as a Socialist, must vote against this resolution."

(Signed) JULIUS GERBER,

New York.

"I wish to have my reasons recorded why I voted against resolution relating to Non-Partisan League.

"1. Because of its phraseology.

"2. Because it was drafted, not by the committee, but by a man representing the Non-Partisan League."

(Signed) H. J. P. ENEMARK,

Maine.

Delegate W. N. Reivo, of Oregon, begs to be recorded as approving the resolution only as a declaration against fusion and not as a declaration of Socialist principles.

"In explanation of my vote on resolution dealing with Non-Partisan League, will say that I do not approve of the language or sentiments of the resolution. But I do approve opposing the proposition to compromise the party with the Non-Partisan League."

(Signed) JOS. D. CANNON,

New York.

"I am against the phraseology of the resolution relating to the Non-Partisan League, though I voted 'yes.'"

(Signed) MAX LULOW,

New York.

"I am absolutely opposed to the expulsion of comrades who participate in non-partisan elections. Such action is directly an attack upon the stability of the Socialist Party and decidedly reactionary in its ultimate results."

(Signed) FLORENCE WATTLES,

Indiana.

"I voted 'no' because this resolution is not in accord with democratic Socialism."

(Signed) STEPHEN J. MAHONEY,

New York.

"I voted 'no,' because the language of the resolution is incomplete. Favored referring to Platform Committee."

(Signed) MILO C. JONES,
New Jersey.

"I vote 'no' on this resolution for the following reasons: First, while agreeing with its aim and spirit (as I understand these), I can not subscribe to its syndicalistic terms. Second, because I do not think that the Non-Partisan League movement has yet developed a fixed type upon which we can pass judgment."

(Signed) JOHN SPARGO,
Vermont.

"I voted 'no,' because resolution was incomplete and language not clear."

(Signed) VALENTINE BAUSCH,
New Jersey.

"I vote 'no,' because I object to the language and because by methods used no genuine opportunity was given to amend."

(Signed) GEORGE H. GOEBEL,
New Jersey.

"I declined to vote, as I do not believe the resolution at all clear in expression."

(Signed) J. T. CUMBIE,
Oklahoma.

"No! Because the resolution can be made to mean anything."

(Signed) EMIL SEIDEL,
Wisconsin.

"To me, the roll call vote upon this resolution was clearly a vote for or against fusing with a non-revolutionary political party of farmers, which, under the guise of non-partisanship, elected republicans and democrats to office. Every revolutionary Socialist who voted for this resolution, although it may be more or less crude in expression, voted in spirit for no fusion, no compromise, has nothing to 'explain away,' for to him the Socialist Party is too dear to be sold out."

(Signed) A. WAGENKNECHT,
Ohio.

FIFTH-DAY SESSION.

Wednesday Morning, April 11, 1917.

Meeting called to order by Chairman Howe, at 9:25.

The following were named for chairmen of the day:

Mahoney, of New York—accepted.

Ruthenberg, of Ohio—accepted.

Collins, of Colo.—accepted.

McDonald, of Ill.—(on committee).

Williams, of Cal.—accepted.

Kraft, of New Jersey—accepted.

Hillquit, of New York—declined.

Oneal, of Mass.—declined.
Goebel, of New Jersey—declined.
Millard, of Ky.—declined.

By a vote of 58 Ruthenberg was elected chairman, against 42 for Mahoney, 14 for Collins, 15 for Williams, 4 for Kraftt.

The following were nominated for vice-chairman:

Knopfnagel, of Ill.—accepted.
Mahoney, of New York—accepted.
Clark, of Pa.—declined.
Cannon, of New York—declined.
McDonald, of Ill.—accepted.
Fairchild, of South Dakota—accepted.
Williams, of Cal.—declined.
Kleihege, of Kansas—declined.

By a vote of 95 McDonald was elected vice-chairman, against a vote of 34 for Knopfnagel and 7 for Fairchild.

Motion by Bloom, of Massachusetts, that Comrade Hillquit's time be extended to 20 minutes. Motion withdrawn.

The following telegrams were read by Reading Clerk Millard:

From Yonkers, New York, Local opposing war.

Frof Local, Portland, Oregon, urging expulsion from Party of Chas. E. Russell.

From John P. Burke, president International Brotherhood Paper Mill Workers, urging nationwide weekly distribution of literature.

From Nashville Socialists opposing conscription.

Communication from 23rd ward branch, Chicago, referred to Committee on War and Militarism.

Motion by Zimmerman, of Indiana, that in the debate to follow on the report of the Committee on War and Militarism, the Chair shall recognize one on each side of the question.

This motion was ruled out of order by Chair.

Comrade Kate Richards O'Hare then proceeded to report for the Committee on War and Militarism, copies of which reports have been distributed to delegates. X

Motion by Leonard, of New Hampshire, that greetings to the Finnish Diet and Russian Duma be adopted. Carried.

Comrade Hillquit submitted majority report for the committee. X

A motion made by Hillquit that the majority report of the committee be adopted.

Comrade Boudin then took the floor to present a minority report. X

Minority report was offered by Comrade Boudin as an amendment to the majority report.

Comrade John Spargo, of Vermont, then took the floor to submit a minority report of the committee. X

Motion made by Spargo that his minority report be substituted for the whole.

Motion made by Patterson, of Ohio, that every member of the Committee

FIFTH DAY SESSION.

Wednesday Evening, April 11, 1917.

Meeting called to order by Chairman Ruthenberg at 8:05.

Motion by Collins of Colorado that we accept the names of those who desire to speak on the various resolutions and that the Chair call them in the order in which they come to him. Motion carried.

The following took the floor to continue the discussion on report of Committee on War and Militarism:

A. Neibert of the Lettish Federation; A. Wagenknecht of Ohio; Moses Oppenheimer of New York; Wm. F. Kruse of the Y. P. S. L.; Meissner of Montana; Cannon of New York; Germer of Illinois; Johnson of Oklahoma; Clarke of Pennsylvania; Sandberg of Illinois; Biedenkauff of New York.

N. Solomon of New York moved the previous question.

By a vote of 87 in favor and 60 opposed, the motion carried.

Comrades Spargo, Hillquit and Boudin were given five minutes each to finish the debates.

Motion to have a roll call vote on the adoption of the reports was amended by Boudin of New York that each report be voted on separately. The amendment was lost by a vote of 72 opposed and 56 in favor.

Motion by Biedenkauff that when the vote is announced we adjourn until tomorrow at 9 o'clock. Carried.

A motion by Solomon of New York that we reconsider the action taken on the resolution concerning the Non-Partisan League.

The vote on the reports of the Committee on War and Militarism resulted as follows:

The following voted for the majority report as a basis:

Arizona—Barnette, Davenport.

Arkansas—Fulks.

California—Harriman, King, Mills.

Colorado—Collins, McGehe.

Connecticut—Plunkett, Shea.

District of Columbia—Pierce.

Florida—Pimbley.

Georgia—Millis.

Idaho—Conly, Fields, Stewart.

Illinois—Berlyn, Castle, Diehl, Holland, Kennedy, McDonald.

Indiana—Henry, Jackman, Wattles, Zimmermann.

Iowa—Bowman, McCrillis, Metcalf.

Kansas—Baldwin, Beloof, Kleihege, Mitchell.

Kentucky—Millard.

Louisiana—Jones.

Maine—Baker, Enemark.

Maryland—Shipley, Young.

Massachusetts—Annala, Bloom, Fenner, Hough, Makela, Marcus, O'Neal,

Hoewer, Syrala.

on War and Militarism who desires to do so be permitted at least 5 minutes previous to opening it for debate by the Convention.

By a vote of 67 to 66 the motion was lost.

Comrade Hillquit then took the floor on majority report.

Meeting adjourned at 12:35 p. m., under the rules.

FIFTH DAY SESSION.

Wednesday Afternoon, April 11, 1917.

Meeting called to order at 2:38 by Chairman Ruthenberg.

Telegram was read from Eugene V. Debs, sending greetings to Convention and urging action against war.

Comrade Maynard Shipley took the floor on point of personal privilege to repudiate remarks made by Comrade John Spargo concerning Shipley's position on the War and Militarism Committee.

The discussion on pending reports was resumed and was participated in by Comrades Harrinan, Benson, Renner, of Michigan (motion by Hillquit extended Benson's time five minutes), Mahoney, of New York, Provoy, of Ohio.

A point of order was raised by Williams, of California, that he had been recognized by the Chair; made a motion, which was seconded, to substitute Benson's statement on War as a substitute for pending reports, and that he then recognized some other delegate.

Vice-Chairman McDonald assumed the Chair. Appeal was stated. Chair was sustained.

Gaylord, of Wisconsin, raised question whether or not substitute resolution on war for reports already submitted could be made. Chair ruled that this was not in order and ruling was appealed from. Vice-Chairman McDonald assumed chair; the appeal was stated and Chair was sustained.

The Chair ruled that when we come to a vote we shall decide as to which of the three reports shall serve as a basis for further discussion, and then the report so accepted shall be subject to amendment by the body.

Williams, of California; Bloom, of Massachusetts; Zimmermann, of Indiana; Hoehn, of Missouri; Holt of West Virginia; Castle, of Illinois; McKeown, of Pennsylvania; Sadler, of Washington (Motion by Goebel to extend Saddler's time five minutes. Motion Carried.); Belooof, of Kansas; Krafft, of New Jersey; Knopfnagel, of Illinois; Porter, of Nebraska; Kate Richards O'Hare (Motion by Strieff, of Oregon, that Comrade O'Hare be given five minute more time. Carried); Coldwell, of Rhode Island, continued the discussion of the reports of the committee.

Motion by Gerber, of New York, that the Convention proceed to vote as to which of the three reports shall be the basic report of the Convention. Motion lost by a vote of 70 to 70, Chair casting deciding vote against.

Tom Clifford, of Ohio, took the floor to further discuss the report.

Motion by Coldwell, of Rhode Island, that when we adjourn, we do so to re-convene at 8 p. m.

Meeting adjourned at 5:30 p. m.

GEORGE E ROEWER, Jr.,
Secretary.

Fifth Day Session

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Wednesday Evening, April 11, 1917

Michigan—Sugar, Westfall (one-half vote).

Minnesota—Adams, Locher, Maley, Rastedt, Sahlman, Stafford, Vandenberg, Wassing.

Missouri—Brandt, Hoehn, O'Hare.

New Hampshire—Leonard.

New Jersey—Bausch, Goebel, Green, Jones, Krafft, Quinlan, Reilly.

New Mexico—Parks.

New York—Cannon, Gerber, Hillquit, Hilsdorf, Lee, Mahoney, Noonan, Munder, Sheehan, Solomon.

North Dakota—Loomis, Martinson.

Ohio—Baker, Clifford, Midney, Patterson, Prevey, Ruthenberg, Wagenknecht.

Oklahoma—Conley, Cumbie, Sample, Jones, Houchin, Lewis, Moore, Nias, Oiler, Stair, Stanwood, Johnson, Thompson, Thurmond, Tuttle, Smith.

Oregon—McCone, Reivou, Streiff.

Pennsylvania—Adams, Barnes, Clarke, Garber, Hayden, Higgins, McKeown, Myers, Ross, Stump, Tait, Thompson, Wilson.

South Dakota—Atwood ($\frac{1}{2}$ vote), Butler ($\frac{1}{2}$ vote), Cotton ($\frac{1}{2}$ vote).

Tennessee—Braun.

Utah—King.

Washington—Bonnievie, Herman, House, Katterfield, Maurer.

West Virginia—Gillespie, Holt.

Wisconsin—Berger, Buech, Krzcki, Mielsen, Seidel.

The following voted for the minority report presented by Comrade Boudin

on a basis:

Delaware—McGuigan.

Illinois—Berg, Dreifuss, Howe, Knopfnagel, Lundquist, Owens.

Massachusetts—Schulze.

Michigan—Earley, Foss, Hedden ($\frac{1}{2}$ vote)), Keracher, Kiskila, Renner.

Montana—McElroy, Meissner.

New Mexico—Dillon.

New York—Berggren, Biedenkapp, Boudin, Lore, Oppenheimer, Pauly, Howlitch.

North Dakota—Sheldon.

Ohio—Jodlbauer, Wilkins.

Oklahoma—Russell.

Rhode Island—Coldwell, E. W. Theinert.

South Dakota—Iverson ($\frac{1}{2}$ vote).

Washington—Sadler.

The following voted for the minority report presented by Comrade Spargo

on the basis:

Nebraska—Porter.

Oklahoma—Sechrist.

Vermont—Spargo.

Wisconsin—Gaylord, Thorn.

Comrade Spiess, Connecticut, wished to be recorded as not voting.

The following Comrades were either on committee work or absent when the roll was called:

California—McKee, Williams.

Florida—White.
Illinois—Sandberg.
Indiana—Farmer.
Alabama—Connolly.
New York—Benson, Lulow.
Ohio—Bannard.
Tennessee—Gregory.
Texas—Simpson.
Utah—Stoney.
Wyoming—Bateman, Paterson.

Comrade Thomas, Washington, stated that, owing to having been all day on committee work, he had not had an opportunity to read the various reports and had heard none of the discussion thereon. He asked the privilege of having his vote recorded later, and there was no objection to this.

(Note by J. M. Reilly, Assistant Secretary—Up to 11:05 p. m., Comrade Thomas had not recorded his vote with me.)

140 for majority report, 31 for the Boudin report and 5 for the Spargo report.

The majority report was accepted as the basis for further discussion.

Meeting adjourned at 10:15.

GEORGE E. ROEWER, JR.,
Secretary.

SIXTH DAY SESSION.

Thursday Morning, April 12, 1917.

Meeting called to order by Chairman Ruthenberg at 9:15 a. m.

Following were nominated for chairmen:

McDonald, of Ill. (absent); Sadler, of Wash. (accepted); Lugar, of Mich. (accepted); Goebel, of New Jersey (accepted); Collins, of Colo. (accepted).

By a vote of 67, Sadler was elected chairman, against 27 votes for Goebel; 1 vote for Lugar; no votes for Collins.

The following were nominated for vice-chairman: Goebel, of N. J. (declined); Shipley, of Ind. (accepted); Prevey, of Ohio (declined); Collins, of Colo. (declined); Paterson, of Ohio (declined); Renner, of Mich. (accepted); McElroy, of Mont. (accepted); Barnett, of Ariz. (declined); Gerber, of N. Y. (declined).

By a vote of 61, Shipley was elected vice-chairman against a vote of 9 for McElroy; and 23 for Renner.

The following telegrams were read by reading clerk Willard: From Rock Island Branch, Moline Branch, East End Branch, East Moline Branch, Silver's Branch, Hampton Branch, Russian Branch, Lithuanian Branch, Italian Branch, all of East Moline, Ill., urging action on an uncompromising program.

From Branch 3, S. P., Providence, R. I., sending greetings and best wishes.

From J. Eads How, Wash., D. C., urging Party to demand of Congress that Meyer London be sent on mission to the people of Germany.

From Lithuanian Federation, Socialist Party, Phila., urging conventions to stand firmly by principles of International Socialism.

Comrade Job Harriman presented a letter from Tom Mooney.

Howe, of Ill., motion that debate close on the preamble of the majority report and a vote be taken at 11 o'clock, that we then proceed to consider the program and that we take a final vote at 12:30.

Motion by Dreyfuss, of Ill., that we suspend the rule and that the number of amendments be not limited.

Motion by Prevey, of Ohio, to divide the questions. Accepted by mover of the question.

Early, of Okla., moved the previous question, which carried.

The motion was then put and by a vote of 65 in favor and 82 opposed the motion to close debate at 11 o'clock was lost.

Comrade Sandberg, of Ill., offered a substitute for the basic report. The Chair ruled this out of order, and appeal was taken. Vice-Chairman Shipley took the floor. Appeal was stated. The Chair was sustained.

Motion by Nulland, of Ky., that we now proceed to take up the majority report *seriatim*. Carried.

Comrade Morris Hillquit took the floor to read the report for committee.

First paragraph offered by Katterfeld, of Wash., to add: "And to all wars, offensive or defensive, prosecuted by a ruling class."

Amendment offered by Noonan, of New York, "All wars, offensive or defensive, declared and prosecuted by a ruling class."

Amendment to amendment offered by Ruthenberg, of Ohio, that we substitute for the words "a ruling class," a government representing the capitalist class." Lost.

Kennedy, of Ill., moved the previous question. Carried.

Hillquit spoke in favor of the paragraph as originally put for five minutes. Comrade Noonan, of New York, spoke for five minutes.

Lore, of New York, moved that a roll call vote be taken on the amendment offered by Katterfeld. Motion carried, as follows:

Affirmative: Plunkett, Shea, Spies, McGuigan, Fields, Berg, Berlyn, Diehl, Dreifuss, Howe, Knopfnagel, Lundquist, Owens, Sandberg, Jackman, Zimmermann, Metcalf, Young, Schulze, Earley, Hedden, Keracher, Renner, Locher, Stafford, McElroy, Meissner, Quinlan, Berggren, Biedenkapp, Boudin, Hilsdorf, Lore, Lulow, Noonan, Pauly, Rowitch, Martinson, Baker, Clifford, Jodlbauer, Midney Patterson, Prevey, Wakenknecht, Crumble, Stair, Tuttle, Smith, Myers, Coldwell, Theinert, Iverson, Gregory, Bonnevie, Herman, House, Katterfeld, Maurer, Sadler, Thomas.

Negative: Barnette, Davenport, Fulks, Hogan, Harriman, King, Mills, Collins, McGehe, Pierce, White, Mills, Conly, Stewart, Castle, Holland, Kennedy, McDonald, Henry, Wattles, Bowman, McCrillis, Baldwin, Beloof, Kleihege, Mitchell, Millard, Jones, Baker, Enemark, Shipley, Annala, Bloom, Fenner, Hough, Makela, Marcus, O'Neal, Roewer, Syryala, Kliskhila, Sugar, Westfall, Adams, Maley, Rastedt, Sahlman, Vanderberg, Wassing, Brandt, Cannon, Gerber, Hillquit, Lee, Mahoney, Sander, Sheahan, Norteva, Loomis, Hoehn, O'Hare, Leonard, Goebel, Green, Jones, Kraftt, Reilly, Dillon, Parks, Ruthenberg, Conley, Jones, Houchin, Lewis, Moore, Nias, Oder, Russell, Sechrist, Stanwood, McCone, Reivou, Streiff, Adams, Barnes, Clarke, Garber, Hayden, Higgins, McKeown, Ross, Stump, Tait, Thompson, Wilson, Butler,

Fairchild, Braun, King, Stoney, Duke, Gillispie, Holt, Berger, Buech, Krzycki, Neilsan, Seidel.

Not Voting: Porter, Oppenheimer, Atwood, Spargo, Gaylord, Thorn.

Absent: Connolly, Williams, Farmer, Foss, Bausch, Solomon, Sheldon, Barnard, Wilkins, Thurmond, Simpson, Bateman, Paterson.

By a vote of 111 to 62 the amendment was lost.

Following comrades explained their vote:

"My reasons for voting yes: By instructions I was so instructed to oppose all wars of defense and offense. This amendment is in accord with the Socialist International."

(Signed) WM. H. HILSDORF,

New York.

"Consider the amendment superfluous; would vote yes were it not covered in another section."

(Signed) I. T. STEWART,

Idaho.

"Voted 'no' on Katterfeld amendment because the same point is covered clearly in the fourth paragraph, and in phraseology better adapted to the purpose in view."

(Signed) SHIPLEY,

Maryland.

" vote 'no' on the amendment not because I am not opposed to all wars, offensive or defensive declared and prosecuted in the interest of the capitalist class, but because I consider this position fully stated in another section."

(Signed) ELDA B. CONLY,

Idaho.

"Opposed to the whole document, I do not feel that I can consistently choose between the motion and the amendment. If I could consistently make such choice I would vote for the amendment because it is definite and capable of only one interpretation, while the original language is ambiguous and capable of any number of interpretations."

(Signed) JOHN SPARGO,

Vermont.

"I vote 'no' on this amendment, because it weakens the significance of the statement, and our attitude with reference to the present war. The amendment is meaningless, and lays us open to attack and accusation, that we are peace-at-any-price people. Moreover, the amendment is superfluous, and expresses in an unfortunate manner what was more strongly stated in second and fourth paragraphs of the statement, and which had especially well been formulated in the fourth paragraph, thus: 'The only struggle which would justify the workers in taking up arms is the great struggle of the working class to free itself from economic exploitation and political oppression.'"

(Signed) SAMUEL H. HOLLAND,

Illinois.

"We vote 'Yes' on the amendment to strike out 'frankly' and 'have been hypocritically represented' from the sentence 'Whether they have been frankly waged as wars of aggression or have been hypocritically represented

as wars of defense' to repudiate the statement made by Morris Hillquit in the point of order he raised against this motion, that the Convention, in its previous action, had voted in favor of the principle that there may be capitalistic wars of defense which the workers might support. This statement was also repudiated in the overwhelming vote of the Convention, upholding the ruling of the Chair that the point of order was not well taken."

(Signed) A. WAGENKNECHT,

Ohio.

C. E. RUTHENBERG,

Ohio.

S. BONNEVIE,

Washington.

Mahoney of New York moved the adoption of the paragraph as originally reported. Motion carried. Amendment to the rules of order affirmed by Caldwell of Rhode Island that the rule of the Convention be rescinded insofar as it provides for speeches on each side after the vote on the previous question. Lost.

Motion by Patterson, of Ohio, for a suspension of the rules, as they provide for a roll call on the various paragraphs. Ruled by Chair out of order.

Then followed consideration of second paragraph.

Amendment offered by Beidenkapp, of New York.

Comrade Hillquit, on a point of order, raised objections that Beidenkapp was re-stating the same amendment that had just been voted on and lost. The point of order was not well taken by Chair and Chair was appealed from. Vice-Chairman Shipley took the chair. Appeal was stated and by a vote of 77 to 62 the Chair was sustained.

Biedenkapp then continued to speak on his amendment, which was as follows: To strike out the word "frankly" where it appears after the word "been." Strike out the words "have been hypocritically represented as wars" where it appears after words "aggression or."

An amendment to the amendment was offered by Sugar, of Michigan: To insert before the word "classes" the word "ruling," and before the word "masses" the word "subject," so that the sentence, as amended, shall read: "Whether they have been waged as wars of aggression or wars of defense, they have always been made by the ruling classes and fought by the subject masses." This was accepted by Beidenkapp, the mover of the motion.

Lulow, of New York, moved the previous question. Carried.

Biedenkapp, of New York, and Knopfnagel, of Illinois, asked to be recorded as voting "No" on the motion to adopt the first paragraph of the preamble.

A roll call on this amendment was taken and resulted as follows:

Affirmative: Plunkett, Shea, Spies, McGuigan, Fields, Stewart, Berg, Castle, Diehl Dreifuss, Howe, Knopfnagel, Lundquist, Owens, Sandberg, Zimmermann, Young, Earley, Hedden, Keracher, Renner, Sugar, Westfall, Adams, Locher, Stafford, McElroy, Miessner, Berggren, Biedenkapp, Boudin, Hilsdorf, Lore, Noonan, Oppenheimer, Pauly, Rowitch, Sheldon, Jodbauer, Ruthenberg, Wagenknecht, Conley, Cumbie, Lewis, Oder, Russell, Stair, Thompson, Smith, Myers, Caldwell, Theinert, Iverson, Fairchild (one-half vote), Braun,

Gregory, Bonnevie, Herman, House, Katterfeld, Maurer, Sadler, Thomas.

Negative: Barnette, Davenport, Fulks, Hogan, Harriman, King, Mills, Collins, McGehe, Piercs, Millis, Conly, Berlyn, Holland, Kennedy, McDonald, Henry, Jackson, Wattles, Bowman, McCrillis, Metcalf, Baldwin, Belooof Kleihege, Mitchell, Millard, Baker, Enemark, Shipley, Annala, Bloom, Fenner, Hough, Makeia, Marcus, O'Neal, Roewer, Schultze, Syryala, Klishkila, Rastedt, Sahlman, Vanderberg, Wassing, Brandt, Hoehn, O'Hare, Leonard, Goebel, Green, Jones, Krafft, Quinlan, Reilly, Dillon, Parks, Cannon, Gerber, Hillquit, Lee, Hahoney, Sander, Sheahan, Solomn, Norteva, Loomis, Martinson, Midney, Patterson, Prevey, Jones, Moore, Nias, Sechrist, Stanwood, Johnson, Tuttle, McCone, Reivou, Streiff, Adams, Barnes, Clarke, Garber, Hayden, Higgins, McKeown, Ross, Stump, Tait, Thompson, Wilson, Atwood (one-half vote), Butler (one-half vote), King, Stoney, Spargo, Duke.

Not Voting: White, Porter, Bausch, Lulow.

Absent: Connolly, McKee, Williams, Farmer, Jones, Foss, Maley, Benson, Baker, Barnard, Clifford, Wilkins, Houchin, Thurmond, Gaylord, Thorn.

By a vote of 105 to 63 this amendment was lost.

The paragraph as originally presented was carried.

Meeting adjourned at 12:35 p. m.

SIXTH DAY SESSION.

Thursday Afternoon, April 12, 1917.

Convention called to order at 2:20 p. m. by Chairman Sadler.

Motion by Herman, of Washington, that we rescind our action of this morning to consider seriatim the preamble on the report of the Committee on War and Militarism, and that we now proceed to vote on the preamble as a whole.

On a point of order, the motion was divided.

The motion to rescind our action of this morning was carried by a vote of 65 to 47.

Vandenburg, of Minnesota, moved to adopt the report as a whole.

Amendment by Dillon, of New Mexico, that the preamble be voted on as a whole.

Substitute submitted by Comrade Seidel, of Wisconsin, copies of which were distributed to the delegates.

Motion by Spies of, Connecticut, that this substitute be tabeled. Carried.

Cannon, of New York, offered an amendment to paragraph 4, by striking out the sentences, "We, therefore, call upon the workers of all countries to refuse support to their governments in their wars. The wars of the contending national groups of capitalists are not the concern of the workers."

Comrade Richards O'Hare offered the following amendment to the fourth paragraph: After the sentence, "The only struggle which would justify the workers in taking up arms is the great struggle of the working class of the world to free itself from economic exploitation and political oppression;" the following: "And we particularly warn the workers against the snare and delusion of so-called defensive warfare."

Berger, of Wisconsin, made a point of order that O'Hare's amendment was out of order. Chair ruled point of order well taken.

Comrade Cannon's amendment being put, was lost.

Dillon accepted O'Hare's amendment in his motion, but objection to this was raised by Goebel.

Motion by Hillquit that we proceed to take a vote and suspend the rules to this extent, that after the preamble is adopted or the report is adopted, O'Hare be recognized to make her amendment.

Chair accepted Hillquit's motion as her ruling. To this ruling Ruthenberg, of Ohio, raised point of order that motion was out of order, and Chair ruled point well taken.

On vote, the motion made by Dillon was carried by 104 to 39.

A point of order was raised by Hillquit that the Convention is still in the midst of voting and that nothing is in order except a vote on the main motion. The Chair ruled point well taken, and Comrade Cannon King, of California appealed from decision of Chair. Vice-Chairman Shipley took the chair. The appeal was stated and by a vote of 89 to 49 the Chair was sustained.

Chair ruled that the motion as amended is carried.

A motion was made by Bausch, of New Jersey, that O'Hare be allowed to offer her amendment to the preamble. The Chair ruled it out of order. An appeal from the Chair was made. Vice-Chairman Shipley took the chair. The appeal was stated. Vote being taken, the Chair was not sustained.

Comrade O'Hare made a motion to insert in paragraph 4, after the words, "The only struggle which would justify the workers in taking up arms is the great struggle of the working class of the world to free itself from economic exploitation and political oppression," "and we particularly warn the workers against the snare and delusion of so-called offensive warfare."

Previous question having been called for and carried.

Biedenkapp, of New York, took the floor for five minutes in favor of the amendment, and Comrade Roewer, of Massachusetts, in opposition to the amendment.

The amendment being put to a vote, carried by a vote of 87 to 51.

Explanation of Vote.

While not under specific instructions from the State Committee, I consider that Comrade O'Hare's motion to "warn the working class against the snare and delusion of defensive warfare" to be in harmony with the spirit of resolutions adopted by Locals and Branches representing a majority of the membership of the State. The vote was taken by show-up of hands and I voted "yes."

JAMES M. REILLY.

Motion by Sandberg, of Illinois, that the word "willingly" be stricken from section 2, 13th line. Ruled out of order by Chair, and Chair was appealed from. Sergeant-at-Arms, Taylor, took the chair. Appeal was stated. By vote Chair was sustained.

Comrade Hillquit then proceeded to read the program.

A substitute was offered by Cameron King for section 1 and the rest of the program, copies of which were distributed to delegates.

Previous question was called for and carried.

Berlyn, of Illinois, took the floor against the substitute and Goebel, of New Jersey, for the substitute.

The substitute was lost by a vote of 90 to 45.

A roll call was asked for, and by a vote of 117 to 47 the substitute was lost.

Affirmative: Barnette, Davenport, Fulks, King, Mills, White, Millis, Conly, Fields, Stewart, Sandberg, Baldwin, Beloof, Kleihege, Mitchell Millard, Jones, Enemark, Hough, Marcus, Adams, Locher, Maley, Rastedt, Sahlman, Stafford, Vanderberg, Wassing, Bausch, Goebel, Sander, Loomis, Martinson, Conley, Cumbie, Sample, Houchin, Moore, Russell, Sechrist, Stair, Stanwood, Johnson, McCone, Atwood (one-half vote), Fairchild (one-half vote), Duke, Buech, Gaylord, Seidel

Negative: Hogan, Plunkett, Shee, Spies, McGuigan, Pierce, Berg, Berlyn, Castle, Diehl, Dreifuss, Holland, Howe, Kennedy, Knopfnagel, Lundquist, Genner, Owens, Henry, Jackman, Wattles, Zimmermann, Bowman, McCrillis, Metcalf, Millard, Shipley, Annala, Bloom, Makela, Oneal, Roewer, Schulze, Syryala, Earley, Hedden, Keracher, Kiishkila, Renner, Sugar, Westfall, Brandt, Hoehn, O'Hare, McElroy, Meissner, Leonard, Green, Jones, Krafft, Quinlan, Reilly, Dillon, Parks, Berggren, Biedenkapp, Boudin, Cannon, Hillquit, Hilsdorf, Lee, Lore, Lulow, Mahoney, Noonan, Oppenheimer, Pauly, Rowitch, Sheahan, Solomon, Norteva, Baker, Jodlbauer, Midney, Patterson, Prevey, Ruthenberg, Wagenknecht, Wilkins, Jones, Lewis, Nias, Oder, Thompson, Tuttle, Smith, Reivou, Streiff, Adams, Barnes, Clarke, Garber, Hayden, Higgins, McKeown, Myers, Ross, Stump, Tait, Thompson, Wilson, Coldwell, Butler (one-half vote), Fairchild (one-half vote), Braun, Gregory, King, Stoney, Bonnevie, Herman, House, Katterfeld, Maurer, Thomas, Gillespie, Holt, Buech, Neilsen.

"I voted "No" for the reason that the resolution is meaningless, inas much as it declares for mass meetings, demonstrations and all other lawful means. And we know that mass meetings and demonstrations will be unlawful as means of fighting for anything during the war. Also I am opposed to conscription of men, regardless of conscription of wealth. I am not concerned with the best method of financing any war.

(Signed) EDW. HAYDEN,
Pennsylvania.

"I vote 'Aye, on motion because we should permit the people the right to vote on matters of vital interest to them."

Diehl, of Illinois, moved that Convention adopt program as a whole.

Conley, of Oklahoma, amended that we print the program from section 7 on in heavy-faced type.

Motion by Hogan, of Arkansas, to amend section 2.

We demand that there shall be no conscription of men until the American people have been given a right to vote upon that question, and if conscription come at all, we demand that it shall begin with wealth; and that the American capitalist class shall pay for the war as it proceeds. We protest against a colossal bonded debt with which this and generations unborn shall be burdened, and insist that all annual incomes in excess of

\$5,000 shall be taken by the government and devoted to discharging the current expenses of the war.

Ruthenberg, of Ohio, raised a point of order that this was out of order.

Chair did not accept the point of order and was appealed from. Sergeant-at-Arms took the chair and appeal was stated. By a vote of 69 to 53 the Chair was sustained.

Hogan, of Arkansas, was permitted to make his motion.

Lacher, from Minnesota, moved the previous question, which carried.

Wagenknecht, of Ohio, took the floor to speak against the amendment and Hillquit for it.

A roll call vote was taken on Hogan's amendment and was carried by 110½, against 69.

Affirmative: Barnette, Fulks, Hogan, Harriman, King, Mills, Collins, Plunkett, Shea, Spies, Pierce, Millis, Conly, Fields, Stewart, Castle, Holland, Kennedy, McDonald, Wattles, Bowman, McCrillis, Metcalf, Baldwin, Belooft, Kleihege, Mitchell, Millard, Enemark, Young, Annala, Bloom, Fenner, Hough, Marcus, Oneal, Schulze, Sugar, Westfall, Locher, Maley, Rastedt, Sahlman, Wassing, Brandt, O'Hare, Porter, Leonard, Bausch, Goebel, Green, Jones, Kraft, Reilly, Dillon, Parks, Cannon, Gerber, Hillquit, Hilsdorf, Lulow, Mahoney, Noonan, Sander, Sheahan, Solomon, Norteva, Loomis, Martinson, Sheldon, Conley, Cumbie, Sample, Houchin, Lewis, Moore, Russell, Sechrist, Stair, Stanwood, Johnson, Thompson, Tuttle, Smith, McCone, Reivou, Streiff, Barnes, Clarke, McKeown, Butler, Braun, King, Stoney, Spargo, Duke, Thomas, Gillespie, Holt, Neilsen, Seidel, Thorn.

Affirmative: Davenport, McGuigan, Pimbley, White, Berg, Berlyn, Dreifuss, Howe, Knopfnagel, Lundquist, Owens, Sandberg, Henry, Jackman, Zimmermann, Jones, Shipley, Makela, Syryala, Earley, Hedden, Keracher, Kiishkila, Renner, Adams, Stafford, Vanderberg, McElroy, Miessner, Quinlan, Berggren, Biedenkapp, Boudin, Lore, Oppenheimer, Pauly, Rowitch, Baker, Clifford, Jodlbauer, Midney, Patterson, Prevey, Ruthenberg, Wagenknecht, Wilkins, Jones, Nias, Oder, Adams, Garber, Hayden, Higgins, Myers, Ross, Stump, Tait, Thompson, Wilson, Oldwell, Atwood (one-half vote), Iverson (one-half vote), Gregory, Bonnevie, Herman, House, Katterfeld, Maurer, Sadler.

The meeting adjourned at 5:55 to meet again at 8 o'clock.

THURSDAY
SIXTH DAY SESSION.

00217
Thursday Evening, April 12, 1917.

Meeting called to order by Chairman Sadler at 8:15 p. m.

Christensen of Illinois seated in Burg's place and Germer in place of McDonald in Illinois delegation.

Lulow of New York moved the adoption of paragraph 3 as read.

Motion by Higgins of Pennsylvania to amend after the words, "all reactionary measures," "such as the policy of so-called civic peace adopted by the officers of labor organizations and the American Federation of Labor."

Heman of Washington amended the amendment to lay on the table. Carried.

Previous question being called for, paragraph 3 was put to vote and carried.

Motion by McKeown of Pennsylvania that we reconsider action taken on the second paragraph.

Amendment by Streiff to table this motion. Motion carried.

Motion by Lulow of New York to adopt paragraph 4 as read. Carried.

Spies of Connecticut moved the adoption of Section 5. Carried.

Motion to adopt Section 6 as read was carried.

By motion by Lulow of New York, Section 7 was adopted as read.

Morteva of New York moved that the words "democratic management" be inserted after "socialization" in Section (c).

Motion by Conley of Oklahoma that the words "and other natural resources" be inserted after the word "land."

Amendment by Howe of Illinois to strike out the word "agricultural" before the word "land."

The section as amended was carried.

A motion was made by Rowitch of New York that the committee add the following to the program:

"Representatives of the Socialist Party in the various governing bodies shall refuse to vote for war credits or any other measures of war. Action shall be immediately taken to expel party members violating this decision."

Motion to table the above was carried.

Motion by Lulow, of New York, that concluding paragraph of the program be adopted. Carried.

Ruthenberg, of Ohio, read the re-written substitute presented by Hogan in the afternoon session. A motion to adopt this re-written substitute was carried. The substitute, as re-written, is as follows:

"We pledge ourselves to oppose with all our strength any attempt to raise money for payment of war expenses by taxing the necessities of life or issuing bonds which will put the burden upon future generations. We demand that

the capitalist class, which is responsible for the war, pay its cost. Let those who kindled the fire furnish the fuel."

M. HILLQUIT,
GEO. SPIES,
JOHN SPARGO,
KATE RICHARDS O'HARE,
A. LEE,
D. M. HOGAN,

"Voting 'yes' on Comrade Hogan's motion to amend the 'practical program' of the Report of the Committee on War and Militarism, the undersigned did so, not with the idea that the proposed taxation would benefit the workers economically, nor that its enactment should in the least lessen our absolute opposition to conscription of men. The only reason in so doing was the belief that propaganda in the direction of the amendment will create a panic among the capitalists and 'show up' their true stand in regard to the war. We also voted 'yes' with the understanding that the committee will change the crude composition of the proposed amendment in accordance with the stand expressed in the above statement."

S. NUORTCOA,
New York.
VICTOR ANNALS,
Massachusetts,

The first section of the recommendations was adopted as read.

The second section of the recommendations was adopted as read.

Amendment by Biedenkapp, of New York, to section three, to insert the word "this" in place of "our."

Motion by Mahoney, of New York, that Convention adopt document as a whole, with recommendations as amended.

Amended by Prevey, of Ohio, that we read the demands before document is voted on. Amendment lost.

Previous question was called for and carried.

Krafft, of New Jersey, Porter, of Nebraska, Biedenkapp and Cannon, of New York, wished to be recorded as voting "no" on the above motion.

Lulow, of New York, offered the following resolution:

"Be it resolved, that this Convention instructs and empowers the National Executive Committee to create an Emergency War Committee, of which the party secretary on international affairs be chairman. Such committee to work in harmony and under instructions from National Executive Committee."

By motion, the above was tabled.

Motion by Lee, of New York, that the whole of the program and recommendations, as adopted by Convention here today, be read before the vote for final adoption be taken. Motion lost.

Motion by Mahoney, of New York carried.

Cumie desires to change his vote from "yes" to "no" on War Report.

W. B. Smith, of Oklahoma, wants to go on record as voting "no" on War and Militarism as a whole.

"While I recognize that by voting for conscription of income for purposes of war is virtually voting war appropriations and may be interpreted to be contrary to our platform, I am voting 'yes,' because we can't shut our eyes to the fact that a state of war exists and measures for immediate relief for the working class must be demanded. We unalterably oppose this war and all war measures, but we throw all the war burdens and responsibilities upon the capitalist class.

Besides, this will meet with a tremendous approval on the part of the working class, will call the bluff of the capitalist game, establish the principle of expropriation of wealth for the purposes of the nation, and will place the Socialist Party in the lead of the working class.

SAMUEL H. HOLLAND,
Illinois.

I am voting against the majority report on war because it is not only non-Socialist, but it is anti-Socialist in doctrine; it contradicts the historical facts; it condemns no national government except that of the United States, therein being pro-European and peculiarly anti-American; it misses by a mile the big constructive opportunity of the Socialist Party in this war; it crystallizes needlessly the ignorant and vicious anti-Socialist prejudices, and it gives reckless occasion for those rantings by the capitalist press which will most effectively close the public mind completely for many months to all effective and constructive Socialist propaganda—if nothing worse.

W. R. GAYLORD,
Wisconsin.

Fenner of Massachusetts made a supplementary report for the Committee on Ways and Means as follows:

Supplementary Report Ways and Means Committee.

Whereas, The indebtedness of the National Organization is now approximately \$13,000, and,

Whereas, The expenses of this convention will approximately be \$15,000 to this deficit, and other expenses may bring the grand total up to \$30,000, and,

Whereas, There will be additional sums needed immediately for the widespread circulation of the War Resolutions; therefore, be it

Resolved, that this convention elect a special Finance Committee of three to devise way and means of securing this necessary money. This committee also to advise and assist the State Secretaries in collecting assessments levied against the State Organizations.

C. E. FINNER, Chairman,

A motion was made to adopt this report.

Substitute by Goebel that we shall levy an assessment of 25 cents per member. In addition, the National Executive Committee be instructed to at once elect a committee of one, who shall take up immediately the work of securing contributions to an anti-war emergency fund.

Hillquit moved a division of the vote. A vote on the 25-cent assessment was carried.

The second half of the motion was lost by a vote of 66 to 49.

Motion by Kennedy of Illinois that we hear the report of Constitution Committee. Carried.

Comrade Kennedy then took the floor to present the majority report, copies of which were distributed among the delegates.

Comrade Solomon took the floor to report for the minority, copies of report having been distributed among the delegates.

Comrade Anna Maley took the floor to speak on the majority report, reading from Comrades' letters which had been received by the committee, urging various changes and additions to the Constitution.

By a motion the meeting adjourned at 10:35.

GEORGE E. ROEWER, JR.,
Secretary.

SEVENTH DAY SESSION.

Friday Morning, April 13, 1917.

Meeting called to order by Chairman Sadler at 9:15.

Following were nominated for Chairman:

Lee of New York—accepted.
Wagenknecht of Ohio—accepted.
Hillquit of New York—declined.
Dillon of New Mexico—accepted.
Millard of Kentucky—declined.
Seidel of Wisconsin—declined.

By a vote of 68, Lee of New York was elected Chairman against a vote of 39 for Wagenknecht and 9 for Dillon.

The following were nominated for Vice-Chairman:

Hogan of Arkansas—accepted.
Cannon of New York—declined.
Adams of Minnesota—declined.
Cumbie of Oklahoma—declined.
Wagenknecht of Ohio—declined.
Goebel of New Jersey—declined.
Millard of Kentucky—accepted.
Clifford of Ohio—declined.

By a vote of 57, Hogan was elected Vice-Chairman against 42 for Millard.

Following delegates wished to be recorded "No" on the final vote on the adoption as a whole of the War Program: Gaylord of Wisconsin, Duke of Virginia, Goebel of New Jersey, Mills of California, Mahoney of New York, Millard of Kentucky, King of California, Maley of Minnesota, Stair of Oklahoma, Cumbie of Oklahoma, Sample of Oklahoma, Moore of Oklahoma and Sechrist of Oklahoma.

Solomon of New York moved that delegates wishing to be so recorded write their statements and hand them in to Secretary. This was adopted as the rule of procedure by Chair.

Statement in Re Vote on War Resolution.

I vote "No" on the majority report of the War Committee, of which I was a member. I signed the report, believing that it could be so amended that I could vote for it. I agree with the statement of the causes of the war. I do not agree with the statements that will, in my judgment, greatly intensify the clash between our movement and the government and the American people and make our work during the war impracticable, if not impossible.

We are in a state of war. During that state of war the government will not be inclined to permit an organized effort within the country to maintain a "continuous, active and public opposition to the war, through demonstrations, mass petitions and all other means within our power," the

purpose of which is to "rouse and organize the masses for action—against the present war."

I think such statements are extremely unwise. Instead of preserving our rights, they will tend to provoke the powers that be to "throttle our rights and to crush our democratic institutions."

Not only this, they will tend to make a chasm between our movement and the constructive work now so greatly needed and for which most wonderful opportunities would be otherwise open to us.

With Seidel, Spargo, Anna Maley, Goebel and others, I have signed a minority statement which, in my opinion, will, if adopted by popular vote, be far more productive of good to our movement.

JOB HARRIMAN,
California.

Motion by Roewer of Massachusetts that reading of the roll call be dispensed with. Carried.

Motion by Roewer of Massachusetts that reading of the minutes of the preceding day be dispensed with. Carried.

The Missouri delegation asked that Comrade Thomas E. Green of Missouri be seated in place of Comrade O'Hare, who had left on a lecture tour. Green of Missouri seated as delegate.

Reading clerk read several telegrams as follows:

From Henry Hagelstein of San Francisco, California, relative to Mooney case.

From the Jewish Comrades of Chicago, sending greeting to convention.

X From Branch Montclair, New Jersey, urging acceptance of Benson's proposals.

From Joseph Vernick, Organizer Sixth Assembly District of New York City, urging repudiation of Samuel Gompers' position on labor laws during war time.

Motion by Lulow of New York that the convention call upon the Resolutions Committee for a further report in the matter of Mooney defense. Carried.

A motion by Quinlan of New Jersey that the report of the Constitution Committee be taken up seriatim.

An amendment by Solomon, of New York, that Convention first consider the dissenting sections of the Minority Committee. Amendment accepted by mover and motion was carried.

Comrade Kennedy reports the following: That after Section 2(a) the following words were inserted, "and these members must be residents of their districts at the time of their nomination, and during their term of office"; strike out the first line of page 6, add to article XIV "The Young People's Socialist League shall be entitled to one fraternal delegate, having a voice but no vote in the National Convention."

Motion by Kennedy that amendment proposed to section 1, article 2, that the words "political organizations" be stricken out be adopted.

The following were reported as the signers of the Majority Report on Constitution: Williams, of Cal.; Mills, of Cal.; Goebel, of New Jersey; Gaylord, of Wisc.; Maley, of Minn.

Previous question being called for and carried, Comrade Katterfeld took the floor to speak against the amendment, and Comrade Kennedy for the amendment.

The amendment was put to a vote and lost. A roll call vote was called for by required number, resulting as follows:

Affirmative: Barnett, Davenport, Fulks, Hogan, Harriman, King, Mills, Collins, McGehe, Pimbly, Millis, Fields, Kennedy, Germer, Wattles, Baldwin, Beloolf, Kleighe, Mitchell, Millard, Jones, Hough, Marcus, Sugar, Maley, Wasing, Brant, Green, Porter, Goebel, Milo Jones, Quinlan, Parks, Cannon, Loomis, Houchin, Russell, Sechrist, Thompson, Butler, Fairchild (one-half vote each), Murray King, Stoney, Spargo, Duke, Berger, Buech, Gaylord, Krzychi, Neilsen, Seidel, Thorn.

Negative: Plunkett, Shea, Spies, Pierce, White, Stewart, Christiansen, Berlyn, Castle, Diehl, Dreifuss, Holland, Howe, Knopfnagel, Lundquist, Owens, Sandberg, Henry, Jackman, Zimmerman, Bowman, McQuillis, Shipley, Young, Annala, Bloom, Fenner, Makela, Oneal, Roewer, Schultz, Syrvala, Early, Hedden, Kiiskila, Westfall, Adams, Locher, Rastadt, Sahlman, Stafford, Vanderberg, Meissner, Leonard, Bausch, Green, Krafft, Reilly, Dillon, Berggren, Biedenkapp, Boudin, Gerber, Hillquit, Hilsdorf, Lee, Lore, Lulow, Noonan, Oppenheimer, Pauly, Rowitch, Sander, Sheahan, Solomon, Nuorteva, Sheldon, Baker, Clifford, Jodlbauer, Midney, Patterson, Prevey, Ruthenberg, Wagenknecht, Wilkins, Conley, Cumbie, Sample, Lewis, Adams, Clarke, Garber, Haydon, Higgins, McKeown, Myers, Ross, Stump, Tate, Thompson, Wilson, Coldwell, Atwood, Iverson (one-half vote each), Braun, Gregory, Bonnevie, Herman, House, Katterfeld, Maurer, Saddler, Thomas, Gillespie.

Absent: Connolly, McGee, Williams, McGuigan, Farmer, Metcalf, Baker, Enemark, Hoehn, Mahoney, Martinson, Barnard, Jones, Thurmond, Barnes, Theinert, Simpson, Holt, Bateman, Patterson.

Present, but not voting: Conly, McElroy, Strieff.

Resulting in 114 votes in favor and 50 against.

"I vote 'yes' on amending Section 1 of Article II, by striking out 'political organizations,' because I desire to have the proposed amendment sent to a referendum of the membership."

ONLY,
Idaho.

"I voted 'yes' on the majority report, because I do not believe we are 'revolutionary' in drawing lines against 'political organizations.' It is only the reactionary in the socialist movement who is afraid to admit the presence of the other great democratic forces in American life. The real revolutionist is not a coward. The party pledge which demands that every person sever relations with all other political parties is surely strong enough to keep the party 'clear.' To go further than this to to shut the door against democracy and is treason to the best interests of the movement."

FLORENCE A. WATTLES,
Indiana.

Sugar, of Michigan, protested the votes of Lackwood and Ball, of Michigan.

The secretary explained that he had read those names, because of being so instructed by delegate Early, of Michigan. Objection was raised against those votes being counted and Chair ruled that these two votes shall not be counted. Motion by Work that the rules shall be set aside and hereafter no roll call shall be had except by the majority vote of those voting on the proposal.

Move to table the above motion. Motion to table lost. Previous question being called for and carried, Comrade Work's motion was put and carried.

The Secretary reported that, by a vote of 114 to 50, Comrade Kennedy's amendment was lost.

Motion by Maley of Minnesota an additional section to Article 2, that all persons affiliated with any political organization in the definition of a political organization as accepted by this Convention, namely, an organization formed for the purpose of furthering the election of candidates to public office, shall be automatically dropped from the roll of the Socialist party. Moved by Bloom of Massachusetts to table above motion. Motion carried.

Motion by committee that Article 2, Section 4, be struck out. Motion lost.

Comrade Kennedy, for the committee, spoke in favor of the amendment to Article 10, Section 3, present constitution. The following participated in the discussion for and against this amendment: Nuorteva of New York (against), McCrillis of Iowa (in favor), Solomon of New York (against), Goebel of New Jersey (in favor), Oneal of Massachusetts (against), Prevey of Ohio (against), Adolph Genner (in favor), Pauly of New York (against).

Comrade Anna Maley offered the following amendment to Division A of Section 3: "Nor shall any candidate of the Socialist party accept any nomination or endorsement from any other political party."

Discussion continued: Diehl of Illinois (against), Gaylord of Wisconsin (in favor), Henry of Indiana (against), Mills of California (in favor). Motion offered by Lee of New York that the matter before the house be recommitted and that the committee be instructed after taking consideration of the debate that has already occurred to re-report before action upon the constitution has been completed.

Comrade Clifford of Ohio and Green of New Jersey took the floor to speak against the above motion.

The time for adjournment having arrived, the meeting adjourned at 12:35 p. m.

GEORGE E. ROEWER, JR.,
Secretary.

SEVENTH DAY SESSION.

Friday Afternoon, April 13, 1917.

Meeting called to order by Vice-Chairman Hogan at 2:35 p. m.

Various delegates placed themselves on record as follows:

My reasons for voting against the declaration on war are: First, the second sentence in Paragraph 4, which reads as follows: "We therefore call

upon the workers of all countries to refuse support to their Governments in their wars."

I have, and am satisfied to continue to urge the American workers to refuse to carry war on behalf of capitalism to any other country, but, with the menace facing the Mexican people of invasion of their country by a United States army, which would mean the re-establishment of the old Diaz or Cientifico regime or the conquest of, part or all, of that country, I refuse to urge Mexicans to refuse to assist in the attempt to repel the invaders. With the able-bodied population of Belgium and Northern France, Poland and other violated lands being sent into slavery by the invaders, many, many of the women actually being forced to render sex accommodation to army officers, I refuse to urge submission by the workers of these war-devastated lands.

With the war in Russia developed into one for Freedom, with a hundred thousand exiles and prisoners in Siberia and other places of detention being liberated, and returning in rags and tatters to their homes, but yet with the hope and fire of liberty and working class advancement showing in their eyes, I refuse to ask the Russian workers to refuse to fight to hold what has been won, or to achieve more, I refuse to urge the Russian workers to refuse support to their provisional government to the end, perhaps, that the Romanoffs might be re-established on the throne and our liberated comrades reimprisoned, together with tens of thousands of those who are responsible for Russia's recent brilliant achievement.

Second. The next sentence following the one quoted reads: "The wars of the contending nations' national groups of capitalists are not the concern of the workers."

I object to saying the workers are not interested in those wars. Six million workers have already been killed in the European war, hence it seems idle to tell the European workers they are not concerned. The Socialist party in the United States rushed into an emergency convention to consider the war, and then declares it, or the workers, rather, are not concerned in the war.

JOSEPH D. CANNON,
New York.

On the motion to strike out the words "political organizations" in Article 2, Section I, of the Constitution, I voted "no" for purely ulterior motives. I did so that I might turn "State's evidence," indict and convict other of my cohorts as assassins of the Socialist party—for which this Convention seems to have been particularly called. I am a supreme believer in democracy—in the democracy of and full freedom of the intellect as the only possible liberator of the working class. And, as is evidenced by the majority vote on this motion, there can be no democracy except the democracy of the dead. I vote for the dead.

I believe in no unholy alliances with any force in society that seeks to enslave the mind. I bow to no god except the God of reason, and have a supreme contempt for those who preach democracy and then dogmatically deny the right to exercise it.

(Signed) L. N. SHELDEN,
North Dakota.

I do not deem the amendment to striking out the words "political organization" would in any way open the question of political trading. If I thought it would I should have reversed my vote.

(Signed) W. P. Collins,
Colorado.

The first order of business being the motion to recommit the report of the Constitutional Committee. The previous question was moved by Sample of Oklahoma. The previous question carried.

Comrade Katterfeld took the floor to speak against the motion to recommit, and Comrade Lee for the motion. The motion to recommit was lost by 73 to 48.

Kleihege of Kansas spoke in favor of the committee's report. Stump of Pennsylvania spoke against it. The following also participated in the discussion:

Hogan of Arkansas (in favor), Mahoney of New York (in favor), Jane Tait of Pennsylvania (against), Duke of Virginia (in favor), Gregory of Tennessee (against).

Dreyfus of Illinois moved the previous question. Previous question carried.

Germier of Illinois took the floor on question of personal privilege.

Comrade Katterfeld took the floor against the report; Cannon of New York in favor of the report.

The Secretary was then instructed by the Chair to read section (3) to be voted on, both its original wording and as amended by the committee.

A roll call vote on amendment as reported to Article 10, Section 3, by the committee was called for, resulting as follows:

Affirmative: Barnette, Davenport, Arizona; Fulks, Hogan, Arkansas; Harriman, Cameron, King, Mills, California; Collins, McGehe, Colorado; White, Florida; Millis, Georgia; Conly, Fields, Stewart, Idaho; Castle, Kennedy, Germer, Illinois; Wattles, Indiana; McCrillis, Metcalf, Iowa; Baldwin, Beloof, Kleihege, Mitchell, Kansas; Millard, Kentucky; Jones, Louisiana; Young, Maryland; Hough, Marcus, Massachusetts; Sugar, Michigan; Maley, Wassing, Minnesota; Brandt, Hoehn, Green, Missouri; Porter, Nebraska; Goebel, New Jersey; Parks, New Mexico; Cannon, Mahoney, New York; Loomis, Sheldon, North Dakota; Sample, Houchin, Russell, Sechrist, Thompson, Oklahoma; McCone, Streiff, Oregon; King, Stoney, Utah; Spargo, Vermont; Duke, Virginia; Gillespie, West Virginia; Berger, Buech, Gaylord, Krzycki, Neilsen, Seidel, Thorn, Wisconsin.

Negative: Plunkett, Shea, Speiss, Connecticut; Pierce, District of Columbia; Pimby, Florida; Christiansen, Berlyn, Diehl, Dreifuss, Holland, Howe, Knopfnagel, Lundquist, Owens, Sandberg, Illinois; Henry, Jackman, Zimmermann, Indiana; Shipley, Maryland; Annala, Bloom, Fenner, Makela, Oneal, Roewer, Schulze, Syryala, Massachusetts; Earley, Hedden, Kiiskila, Westfall, Michigan; Rastedt, Vanderberg, Minnesota; McElroy, Meissner, Montana; Leonard, New Hampshire; Dausch, Green, Jones, Kraft, Quinlan, Reilly, New Jersey; Dillon, New Mexico; Berggren, Beidenkapp, Boudin, Gerber, Hilsdorf, Lee, Lore, Lulow, Noonan, Oppenheimer, Pauly, Rowitch, San-

der, Sheahan, Solomon, Nuorteva, New York; Baker, Clifford, Jodlbauer, Midney, Patterson, Prevey, Ruthenberg, Wagenknecht, Ohio; Conley, Cumbie, Lewis, Moore, Nias, Oder, Stair, Stanwood, Johnson, Tuttle, Smith, Oklahoma; Reibou, Oregon; Adams, Clarke, Garber, Hayden, Higgins, McKeown, Myers, Ross, Stump, Tate, Thompson, Wilson, Pennsylvania; Coldwell, Rhode Island; Iverson (one-half vote), South Dakota; Braun, Gregory, Tennessee; Bonnevie, Herman, House, Katterfeld, Maurer, Saddler, Thomas, Washington.

Absent: Connolly, Alabama, McKee, Williams, California; McGuigan, Delaware; Farmer, Indiana; Bowman, Iowa; Baker, Enemark, Maine; Foss, Keracher, Renner, Michigan; Adams, Locher, Sahlman, Stafford, Minnesota; Hillquit, New York; Martinson, North Dakota; Barnard, Wilkins, Ohio; Jones, Thurmond, Oklahoma; Theinert, Rhode Island; Simpson, Texas; Holt, West Virginia; Bateman, Patterson, Wyoming.

Not Voting: Barnes, Pennsylvania.

One hundred and one and one-half against and 59½ in favor.

The report was therefore defeated. Delegates, in explanation of their votes, filed the following comments:

I vote "yes" on committee substitute for Article 10, Section 3, because I refuse to put comrades in the dilemma of either violating the party constitution or being traitors to the working class in vital conflicts.

CAMERON H. KING,

WALTER THOMAS MILLS,

California.

On striking out "political organizations," I voted "no" for the same reason I voted "no" on resolution of the paid attorney of the Non-Partisan League. They are "illegitimate friends," and the majority took a position pleasing to the league.

E. F. ATWOOD,

South Dakota.

I voted "no" on the substitute for Article 3 of our Constitution, but I believe that the Socialist party may combine with the Socialist-Labor party in election time.

MAX LULOW,

New York.

I vote "yes" on the amendment to Section 3 of Article X because I think this matter should be decided by the membership, and the only way by which it can be submitted to a referendum is by being adopted by the Convention.

ONLY,

Idaho

On Article X, Section 3, of the proposed amendment to the National Constitution I vote "yes," hoping it will secure sufficient votes to be submitted to a referendum of the membership.

I. F. STEWART,

Idaho.

While it is true that there are difficulties in certain districts of the country on account of special primary laws, I do not believe the propositions of the committee go in the right direction. Especially I do not believe that individual members of the party should be allowed to do things that the party itself should be forbidden to do. I also am opposed to such changes that

would allow combinations with other political organizations and parties just at the present crucial time, when we know we stand practically alone in our fights. I therefore vote "no."

A. DREIFUSS,
Illinois.

Comrade Spargo presented an alternate war resolution which he asked the permission of the house to read. By a vote of 81 to 42 the request was not granted.

A motion was made that when Spargo's resolution goes to the referendum the names of the signers appear. Carried.

Motion by Ruthenberg of Ohio that we suspend the rules insofar as to allow at this time a motion upon the question of printing the report of the Committee on War and Militarism, as decided upon yesterday. Carried.

Motion by Ruthenberg of Ohio that the Executive Secretary and Executive Committee be instructed to immediately have the report on war and militarism adopted by the Convention printed in such quantities as the Executive Committee may decide, and distributed through the locals of the party.

Amendment by Gaylord that the document submitted by Spargo be also printed and circulated. Goebel of New Jersey spoke in favor of the amendment; Solomon of New York against the amendment. The previous question was called for, and carried. Goebel spoke against the motion by Ruthenberg; Ruthenberg in favor.

Michigan delegation asked that Comrades John Ball and Ernest North be seated in place of Renner and Kerriger. Request was granted.

Comrade Anna Maley, for the Constitution Committee, moved to amend the closing paragraph of Section 3, Article 10, by inserting "democratic" before "expulsion." A point of order was raised by Solomon that this was out of order. The point was not well taken by the Chair and the Chair was appealed from by Biedenkapp of New York.

Vice-Chairman Hogan took the chair, and the appeal was stated.

By a vote of 70 to 52 the Chair was not sustained, and the motion was ruled out of order.

Comrade Kennedy, for the Constitution Committee, moved to amend Section 6, Article 2, by striking out from the Constitution Article 6, Section 6, with the following explanation of their motion:

Special Note Concerning Changes in Article II.

Unanimous agreement to strike out Article II, Section 6, was reached by an understanding that it be definitely recorded on the Convention minutes that in so doing the committee expresses neither approval nor disapproval of the phrases eliminated, but rather, that, in the judgment of some of the committee the educational purpose of the adoption in 1912 of this section has been accomplished, while still others of the committee believe that such questions are more properly within the domain of the economic organizations.

Nuorteva of New York objected to the motion, and took the floor to speak on this.

Voting "yes" on the motion to eliminate Article II, Section 6, from the Constitution, the undersigned do so with the express understanding that the elimination of the section does not express an indorsement of methods of

individual violence as means of the class struggle or the propaganda of such methods, nor does it mean a repudiation of the stand of the party that political action is one of the basic principles of the party.

S. NUORTEVA,
F. J. SYRJALA,
V. ANNALA,
JAMES ONEAL,
C. E. FENNER,
V. BLOOM,
G. MAKELA,
GEORGE E. ROEWER, JR.

On the motion to strike out Article 2, Section 6, from the Constitution, the following votes to be recorded:

Negative: Goebel, Krafft, New Jersey; Plunkett, Spiess, Connecticut; A. G. Sechrist, Oklahoma; W. H. Hilsdorf, New York. Max Lutlow of New York votes "no" without explanation.

Absent from hall on Platform Committee when vote on War and Militarism Resolution was taken, I wish to have my vote recorded for it.

L. A. STANWOOD,
Oklahoma.

My signature on the substitute report proposed by Comrades Siedel and Spargo and others to be submitted to referendum, was affixed thereto with the understanding that I did not indorse the same, but wished to give it an opportunity to be brought to a vote by the membership of the Socialist party.

Respectfully,
U. G. TUTTLE,
Oklahoma.

"Some comrades being under the impression that my vote against the report means that I am in favor of war, it becomes necessary for me to explain:

"I moved to strike out from the report the word 'willingly,' Section 3, Line 13.

"The sentence would then have read: 'In support of capitalism we will not give a single life.' Now it reads: 'In support of capitalism we will not willingly give a single life.' Capitalists are not much concerned about the willingness. The question with them is: 'Will the Socialists give their lives as they are giving their labor?' By implication the report as adopted has the answer: 'Yes, Socialists will give their lives—unwillingly.' This I could not vote for. It is a cowardly answer."

KARL F. M. SANDBURG,
Illinois.

The committee accepted Nuorteva's statement in this motion.

Ruthenberg of Ohio moved that Article 2, Section 6, be struck out, without adopting any statement.

Lore of New York moved the previous question, which, being put, carried. Ruthenberg took the floor for his amendment; Oneal of Massachusetts against.

By a vote of 78 to 42, Ruthenberg's amendment carried.

On being put to the body, Kennedy's motion carried.

Motion by Kennedy that Article 3 be adopted. Carried.

Moved by Kennedy that it be the sense of the body that we first discuss the proposition of abolishing the National Committee. Carried.

Strieff of Oregon moved that when we adjourn we adjourn until 7:30 tonight. Amended by Dillon of New Mexico that we substitute 7 o'clock for 7:30. Amendment carried.

Oklahoma delegation asked permission to seat P. J. Yager in place of Jones. Permission granted.

Convention adjourned at 5:30.

GEORGE E. ROEWER, JR.,
Secretary.

SEVENTH DAY SESSION.

Friday Evening, April 13, 1917.

Meeting called to order by Chairman Lee at 7:12 p. m.

Delegate Lee of New York, on behalf of Delegate Hillquit, who has been called away, offers the following for entry in the minutes:

"In view of the reference to myself in the statement which Delegates Wagenknecht, Ruthenberg and Bonnevie have incorporated into the minutes of the Thursday morning session, I am compelled to put it on record that they have misstated the substance of my remarks."

MORRIS HILLQUIT,
New York.

I voted "Yes" on the majority report because I do not believe in the severe treatment of Comrades who are honest enough to say they have violated Sec. 3 of Art. X. This section has been used by the heresy experts who do not believe in political action themselves and feel it their bounden duty to sabotage the Socialist Party at every opportunity.

There is small danger of compromise so long as the party keeps its direction and states its position on fusion in plain terms. Beyond this, there should be the greatest freedom of action. We must come to it if we are to represent a forward-moving revolutionary working class. To stand still is not "revolutionary," but reactionary.

FLORENCE WATTLES,
Indiana.

The business before the house was a motion made by Kennedy of Illinois for the Constitution Committee at the afternoon session to abolish the National Committee.

Comrade Boudin took the floor on this motion, speaking against the motion.

Solomon of New York spoke in favor of the motion.

The following also participated in the discussion: William F. Kruse, against the motion; O'Neal of Massachusetts, in favor; Strieff of Oregon, in favor; Patterson of Ohio, against the motion; Henry of Indiana, in favor of motion.

Bloom of Massachusetts moved the previous question.

By a vote of 90 to 34 the previous question was carried.

Quinlan of New Jersey took the floor to speak against the motion. Mills of California for the motion.

By a vote of 72 to 40, the motion to abolish the National Committee carried.

Kennedy of Illinois, for Constitutional Committee, moved the adoption of Section 1, Article 3, as amended by inserting after the word "National" the word "Executive." Carried.

Kennedy, for the Committee, moved the adoption of Section 2, Article 3, as amended by the Committee.

An amendment was offered by Hogan of Arkansas that the National Executive Committee shall be composed of fifteen (15) members, three of whom shall be elected from each of the five territorial subdivisions, respectively, as follows: (As reported by Committee on Constitution, copies of which have been distributed to the delegates.)

An amendment to amendment by Ruthenberg of Ohio that the National Executive Committee shall be composed of fifteen members, five of whom shall be elected at large and ten shall be elected by the membership of five territorial subdivisions.

Mahoney of New York took the floor against the amendment, and Katterfeld in favor of the amendment.

Previous question was called for and carried.

Ruthenberg took the floor in favor of his amendment.

Biedenkapp of New York took the floor in favor of Hogan's amendment.

Gerber of New York took the floor in support of the committee's report.

A vote was taken, which resulted as follows: On the Ruthenberg amendment, 95 opposed and 44 in favor; the amendment was lost. On the Hogan amendment, 88 in favor and 52 opposed; the amendment carried.

The original motion as amended was then put and carried.

Kennedy moved the adoption of Section 3, Article 3.

Krafft of New Jersey moved an additional section to Article 3 that candidates for the National Executive Committee shall have been active members of the party for fifteen years.

Krafft of New Jersey took the floor in favor of his amendment.

Lulow of New York moved to table above motion. Motion carried.

Motion by Kennedy of Illinois that Articles 4 and 5 of Section 1 shall be struck out. Carried.

Nuorteva of New York moved an amendment to Section 1 (b) by adding "In case of emergency the Executive Committee may call special conventions by a two-thirds vote of the committee."

Boudin of New York offered an amendment to the amendment that such conventions shall only consider the matter specially provided for them.

Boudin took the floor in favor of his amendment and Solomon of New York against it.

Boudin's amendment, on being put to a vote, was lost and Nuorteva's amendment was carried.

Amendment by Katterfield of Washington to Section 4 of Article 3 that three years' consecutive membership in the party shall be necessary to qualify for membership in the National Executive Committee and executive officials.

Comrade Solomon of New York moved an amendment to the amendment changing three years to five years.

Solomon spoke in favor of his amendment and Kruse of the Y. P. S. L. spoke against it.

Previous question was called for and carried.

On being put, Solomon's amendment was lost and Katterfield's motion carried.

The new Article 4, being put, was adopted.

There being no objection, the old Article 6 was struck out.

Section 8 on page 3, as amended, was, by motion, adopted.

Article 5, Section 1, by motion, was adopted.

A substitute was offered by Lulow of New York that the National Secretary be elected by referendum vote. Lost.

The section as read was, by a vote, adopted.

Section 2, Article 5—Second sentence in the old Section 2 was omitted.

Section 3—No change.

Section 4 is made into Article 6.

Old Section 8 becomes new Article 7.

New Section 3 becomes a little more inclusive.

The second section is revised.

New Article 8, Section 1, contains an addition that language federations shall be permitted to send a delegate and one representative from the Y. P. S. L. to an annual conference except in the years when national conventions are held.

Boudin of New York spoke against this amendment, Hayden of Pennsylvania for it, Solomon of New York against it, Goebel for it.

Motion to adopt Article 8 was carried.

Article 9, Section 2—An amendment was offered by Nuorteva so as to make section read "or by a two-thirds vote of the National Executive Committee." Carried.

Amendment to Section 4 offered by Nuorteva that instead of 300 delegates to national conventions there shall be only 200 delegates. Carried.

Section 6 was struck out, because superfluous, by unanimous consent.

New Section 7 was amended by Work of Illinois by adding "vacancies on the national tickets shall be filled by the National Executive Committee." Carried.

Quinlan amended by inserting the words "to transact such other business as the convention may deem fit." Carried.

Article 10, Section 1, was amended to close with the words, "Executive Committee." Carried.

Section 6, Article 10, was amended to read: "The National Executive Committee shall be authorized to levy special assessments when necessary."

Amendment by Meyers of Pennsylvania to raise the national dues from five cents to ten cents.

Diehl of Illinois called for the previous question, which, being put, carried.

Biedenkapp took the floor to speak for Work's amendment.

O'Neal of Massachusetts took the floor to speak in favor of Meyers amendment.

The Meyers amendment was put to a vote and carried.

The section as amended was put to a vote and carried.

Section 7, Article 10, was amended by inserting the words "both regular and special."

Lore of New York moved that last sentence of paragraph 3, Section 7, be struck out.

Dreifuss of Illinois moved to strike out the whole paragraph of Section 7

Previous question was called for and carried.

The Dreifuss amendment was withdrawn.

Lore's amendment was carried.

Section 9 as amended was adopted.

Article 11 was recommended by the committee to be stricken out. Adopted.

Section 10, Article 10, was also recommended by the committee to be stricken out. Carried by vote of 58 to 27.

Cannon of New York took the floor to speak for recommendation.

Rowitch of New York took the floor opposed to the recommendation.

Previous question was called for and, being put, was lost.

Oppenheimer took the floor to speak against the recommendations, Work of Illinois in favor of the committee's recommendations.

By a vote of 58 to 27, the motion to strike out carried.

Old Article 12 was amended by striking out the second half.

Old Article 13 was amended by adding, "He shall receive railroad fare and per diem from the party the same as the regular delegates," including Y. P. S. L.

On Article 2, Section 2, motion to adopt the recommendations of the committee was adopted by a vote of 47 to 42.

Old Article 13, no change. Adopted.

Old Article 14, no change.

Old Article 15 amended by adding "Section entitled to elect one fraternal delegate having a voice, but no vote to the national conventions. The Young People's Socialist League shall be entitled to one fraternal delegate having a voice, but no vote in the national convention.

A motion to adopt the report of the committee as a whole as amended. Carried.

Delegates asked to be recorded as follows on votes already taken:

A. G. Sechrist of Oklahoma desires that his vote on the adoption of the majority report of the War and Militarism Committee be recorded no.

E. L. Moose of Oklahoma desires to have his name recorded as voting against the adoption of the war program as a whole.

Sample of Oklahoma wishes to change his vote on the final adoption of the report on War and Militarism from "Yes" to "No."

Convention adjourned to meet tomorrow at 8 o'clock.

GEORGE E. ROEWE, JR.,

Secretary.

EIGHTH DAY SESSION.

Saturday Morning, April 14, 1917.

Following were nominated for Chairman: Ruthenberg of Ohio, accepted; Noonan of New York, accepted; O'Neal of Massachusetts, declined; Goebel of New Jersey, accepted; Henry of Indiana, accepted; Wagenknecht of Ohio, declined; Hogan of Arkansas, declined.

By a vote of 46, Ruthenberg was elected Chairman against a vote of 12 for Noonan, 42 for Goebel, 5 for Henry.

The following were nominated for Vice-Chairman: Noonan of New York, declined; Goebel of New Jersey, accepted; Spiess of Connecticut, absent; Henry of Indiana, accepted.

Motion by Solomon of New York that this convention adjourn not later than 11:30 this morning. Carried.

By motion convention dispensed with the roll call and with the reading of minutes.

A communication from the North Side Y. P. S. L., Chicago, in re war was, by motion, placed on file.

On behalf of the Executive Committee, Spargo offered two resolutions, one to the management of the Planters Hotel and the other to Local St. Louis, expressing to both deep appreciation of their attention and courtesy extended to the Comrades during the convention.

Motion by Herman of Washington that we rescind action of this convention whereby national office debt and this convention's expenses was apportioned among the various States.

Substitute by Work of Illinois that 25 cents assessment be rescinded.

Motion by Quinlan of New Jersey that motion before the house be tabled. Carried.

Pending motion by Solomon to reconsider the action taken upon the Non-Partisan League.

By a vote of 51 to 41, the motion was lost.

As a member of the Resolutions Committee, I am in agreement with the spirit of the resolution on the Non-Partisan League, but not with its wording, and I wish so to be recorded.

JOSEPH ZIMMERMAN.

O'Neal of Massachusetts reported the Platform Committee.

Motion by Nuorteva of New York that convention decide to appoint or leave it to the Executive Committee to appoint a committee of three in order to draft a platform and submitting it to referendum vote of the membership as a whole.

Clifford of Ohio amended by offering the previous platform.

Motion by Biedenkapp of New York that above motion and amendment be tabled. Carried.

O'Neal of Massachusetts continued reading majority report, copies of which were distributed among delegates.

Barnes of Pennsylvania presented a minority report, copies of which were distributed among the delegates.

A motion was made to adopt the majority report.

A motion was made to adopt the minority report.

Howe of Illinois offered a substitute platform, copies of which were distributed among the delegates.

Howe moved that his substitute be adopted.

O'Neal took the floor in favor of his motion.

Bloom of Massachusetts moved the previous question, which carried.

Shiply took the floor for the majority report.

Clifford of Ohio took the floor in favor of the minority report as presented by Barnes.

Knopfnagle took the floor in favor of Howe's substitute.

Howe's substitute, being put to a vote, was lost.

Barnes' minority report, being put to a vote, was adopted by a vote of 78 against 40.

A motion by Sander of New York that the immediate demands in the majority report be adopted. Carried.

An amendment to the platform was offered by Biedenkapp adding to the program the following:

"Whereas, Strikes and other labor struggles of the workers in the past years have demonstrated the insufficiency of the craft union form of organization and its inability to cope with the modern highly developed capitalist conditions of concentrated and co-ordinated industries now in the hands of the industrial masters in form of a twentieth century labor-crushing machine; be it therefore

"Resolved, That we declare it to be the duty of our agitators and of the publishers of our papers and our literature to teach our members and friends the principles of industrial unionism to enable them, not only to make propaganda for our party and general principles of Socialism among their fellow members of whatever union—craft or otherwise—to which they may belong, but also to carry them the message of common action against the common enemy, and of industrial unionism generally, and thus hasten the day when our party, in its struggle with the Beast of Capitalism, will not stand any longer, as at present, with its back unprotected or outflanked by the outposts of antiquated craft unionism, but will be backed by a powerful revolutionary army of industrially organized workers, unconquerable and victorious.

(Signed) WM. HIGGINS, Pennsylvania,
BIEDENKAPP, New York,
A. W. BERGGREN, New York."

Biedenkapp of New York took the floor in favor of his amendment.

A point of order was raised that this was out of order, and Chair not upholding the point of order, was appealed from.

Vice-Chairman Henry of Indiana took the chair. The appeal was stated and, by a vote of 63 to 60, the Chair was not sustained.

A motion to adopt the immediate demands as submitted by the committee was adopted.

The convention voted to send a telegram to Eugene Debs, reciprocating the sentiments expressed in his telegram.

A motion by Diehl of Illinois that the platform as a whole be adopted. Carried.

The following wished to be recorded as voting "No" on above motion: Biedenkapp of New York, Boudin of New York, Lore of New York and Quinlan of New Jersey.

Comrade Prevey, for the Resolutions Committee, presented the following resolutions, which were adopted:

"PETITION FOR PARDON.

"Whereas, In the County of Allegheny, State of Pennsylvania, the Criminal Court at Nos. 400 and 401, May Term, 1916, tried and found guilty of riot and inciting to riot on May 1st and 2nd, 1916, Anna Goldberg, A. E. Weston, George Zeber, H. H. Detwiler, Rudolph Blum, Mike Essick and Fred H. Merrick and sentenced them, respectively, to one year, nine months, one year, one year, eighteen months in jail each and six months and three and one-half years in the work house, upon which sentences each and all of the persons have served some time in the respective prisons, and

"Whereas, The evidence in the cases plainly show the sole object of all the defendants in these cases was in a lawful manner only to obtain a shorter workday for themselves and their fellow workers in the industries in which they were employed, and that at a time when there was general agitation throughout the country in the industries and on the railroads to obtain an eight-hour day and higher wages to meet the increased cost of living. Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved By the Emergency National Convention of the Socialist Party of America, assembled on this tenth day of April, 1917, that the Governor of the State of Pennsylvania and the Board of Pardons of that State be called upon to exercise their good offices and clemency and pardon the above named persons."

"RESOLUTION.

"Whereas, William A. Prosser, a member of the Socialist Party of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, has been arrested by the authorities of that city on the charge of 'high treason' arising out of an address delivered by him Sunday, April 8th, 1917, at the Lyceum Theater in that city on the subject of 'Militarism, a Philosophical Explanation and a Patriotic Protest,' in which he opposed the present war to protect capitalist interests at home and abroad and to conscription of the workers of the United States to fight the war.

"Be it Resolved, By the Emergency National Convention of the Socialist Party at St. Louis, Missouri, assembled, that we send greetings to Comrade Prosser and assure him of our unlimited support in the struggle for the right of free speech and opposition to war and conscription.

"The above resolution is presented to this convention by the delegates from Pennsylvania."

Resolution on International Congress was amended by Nuorteva of Massachusetts and, after amended, adopted, reading as follows:

"RESOLUTION RELATIVE TO CALLING MEETING OF INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS.

"Whereas, The world war makes it more imperative than ever to have a strong and effective international organization of the working class to resist capitalist aggression and capitalist wars; therefore be it

"Resolved, That the Socialist Party of the United States, in convention assembled, instruct the National Executive Committee to take all necessary steps as may be advisable to accomplish this purpose to call a conference of the International at the earliest possible time; and be it further

"Resolved, That in countries where the party has been split during the war the various groups now existing which were a part of the party before the war have representation as well as the official party."

The following were also adopted and read:

"Whereas, The motion picture, in its process of development, has become a most powerful weapon of expression, and

"Whereas, The brains and creative genius of the working class are being enlisted in the development of the silent drama, and

"Whereas, We are forced to realize the value of freedom in this new mode of expression that appeals so strongly to the working class. Be it

"Resolved, By the Socialist Party, in national convention assembled, that we hereby declare against motion picture censorship in all of its forms, and call upon the elected officials of the Socialist Party in the Nation, State and Municipality to resist any attempt to place the restraint of censorship upon the motion picture."

**"REPORT OF RESOLUTION COMMITTEE ON LABOR ORGANIZATIONS
AND THEIR RELATION TO THE SOCIALIST PARTY.**

"Political organization and economic organization are alike necessary in the struggle for working class emancipation. The most harmonious relations ought to exist between the two great forces of the working class movement—the Socialist Party and the labor unions.

"The labor movement of the United States has of recent years made marvelous progress in all directions. It has steadily increased in numbers and has reached trades and industries which were before unorganized. It has in many instances concentrated its power and increased its efficiency by the amalgamation of related trades into federations and industrial unions. Many unions have opened their meetings and journals to the discussion of vital social and political problems of the working class, and have repudiated the demoralizing politics represented by the National Civic Federation. The organized workers are rapidly developing an enlightened and militant class consciousness.

"The reality of this progress is attested by the increasing virulence with which the organized capitalists wage their war against the union. This improved economic organization is not a matter of abstract theory, but grows out of the experience of the wage workers in the daily class struggle.

"The Socialist Party, therefore, calls the attention of the men and women in the labor unions to the vital importance of the task of organizing the unorganized, especially the immigrants and the unskilled laborers, regardless of race, who stand in greatest need of organized protection and who will constitute a great menace to the progress and welfare of organized labor if they remain neglected. The Socialist Party will ever be ready to co-operate with the labor union in the task of organizing the unorganized workers, and urges all labor organizations, which have not already done so, to throw their doors wide open to the workers of their respective trades and industries, abolishing all onerous conditions of membership and artificial restrictions, with the view that their organizations be eventually developed into industrial, as well as militant, class-conscious and revolutionary union consistent with the development of the industries.

"In the face of the tremendous powers of the American capitalists and their close industrial and political union, the workers of this country can win their battles only through a strong class-consciousness and closely united organization on the economic field, a powerful and militant party on the political field and by joint attack of both on the common enemy.

"It is the duty of the party to give moral and material support to the labor organizations in all their defensive or aggressive struggles against capitalist oppression and exploitation, for the protection and extension of the rights of the wage workers and the betterment of their material and social condition. It is also the duty of the members of the Socialist Party who

are eligible to membership in the unions to join and be active in their respective labor organization."

"RESOLUTION."

"Be it Resolved, By the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party that we commend Comrade London for his fight against war and militarism as consistent with Socialist loyalty."

"RESOLUTION."

"Whereas, The Socialist Representatives and Senators in Congress should function as the exponents of the collective will of the workers comprising the Socialist Party rather than as individuals; therefore, be it

"Resolved, By the Socialist Party, in convention assembled, that the National Executive Committee act as an Advisory Committee to all elected Socialist officials in Congress."

"RESOLUTION."

"Resolved, That this convention of the Socialist Party demands that the charges of Congressman Calloway and others with reference to the control of the press of America, or a large portion thereof, by foreign governments or aliens, in combination with many firms and individuals of Americans, who are profiting by this war or acting as the agents of foreign nations, and the use of this press to stir up public opinion in America for war or other purposes in the interest of these foreign governments, be investigated by the Congress of the United States as a matter of the greatest importance in the war and its conduct and for the protection of America and its democracy from the encroachments of these foreign governments."

"RESOLUTION."

"Whereas, The subscription lists of the privately-owned Socialist papers and periodicals have been largely built up through the activities and sacrifices of members of the Socialist Party and the party organizations; therefore, be it

"Resolved, By the Socialist Party in convention assembled, that the proprietors of said privately-owned Socialist papers and periodicals should send copies of their subscription lists to organizations of the Socialist Party when such lists are officially asked for by the party organizations for use in the work of the party."

A motion to table the following resolution was carried.

"RESOLUTION ON THE PARTY PRESS."

"Whereas, Certain publications, among them the Milwaukee Leader, Appeal to Reason, Western Comrade, Pearson's, claiming to represent the Socialist Party, some of them privately owned and controlled, have supported policies not in accord with the declared principles of the party and some having emphasized certain principles, to the exclusion of others more fundamental and important; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we condemn such editorial policies as not being representative of the Socialist Party.

"Resolved; That as these offending publications owe their existence to the organized Socialists of the United States, who have contributed to their support in many ways, we urge our members to support only such publications that support the declared principles and policies of the Socialist Party."

Comrade Caldwell of Rhode Island took the floor to report for the Committee on Organization.

Moved that the convention adopt the recommendations of the committee to refer the report to the Executive Committee.

Wagenknecht of Ohio for the minority report moved that both the majority and minority report of the Committee on Organization be referred to the Executive Committee, with the understanding that both reports be sent to all the delegates and state secretaries in printed form. Carried.

Motion by Katterfeld that in the event of the adoption of the new constitution the call for nominations for the new National Executive Committee be sent out immediately.

Goebel of New Jersey amended above motion to read that the present five National Executive Committee members hold over and ten additional members be elected. Motion and amendment lost.

Boudin took the floor on behalf of the Committee on War and Militarism; read an address to the Socialists of the belligerent countries, copies of which were distributed among the delegates.

Motion by Sadler that the National Executive Committee be instructed to instruct Representative London to resurrect in Congress the bills to reimburse the Socialists of Seattle for damage to their property in the Seattle Potlatch riots. Carried.

Motion by Goebel of New Jersey that the action of all previous conventions in payment of the secretaries of the convention be followed. Carried.

Motion by Lore of New York that section 3 of the old platform, pledging us to referendum of defensive war be stricken out. Carried.

Whereas, Miss Goldstein has put in her entire time as an assistant secretary to this convention, and not being a delegate, her traveling expenses to St. Louis have not been provided for, therefore, be it

Resolved, that this convention authorize the national secretary to pay her traveling expenses and per diem, the same as delegates. Carried.

I voted against the resolution on "The Relation of the Socialist Party to the Trade Unions," because I believed it incorrectly stated the case. Only one or two branches of labor organizations repudiated the Civic Federation, and they do not sufficiently represent the labor movement.

Patrick L. Quinlan,
New Jersey.

I wish to be recorded as having voted against the adoption of the platform by the convention. I hold that the platform does not express the views of the membership.

Patrick L. Quinlan,
New Jersey.

The meeting closed with a speech by Ruthenberg, followed by three cheers for our declaration in regard to the war and the social revolution. Meeting adjourned sine die at 11:10 a. M.

George E. Roewer, Jr.,
Secretary.

